00036814

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 March, 2016

A

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION

36814 ac

KING OF ENGLAND.

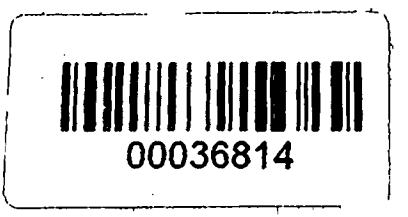
BY G. P. R. JAMES, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF CHARLEMAGNE," "LIFE OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE," "LIFE OF LOUIS XIV." ETC.

VOL. III.

LONDON
SAUNDERS AND OTLEY, CONDUIT STREET.
1843.

God
942-632
Jam/His
36814



HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION.

The battle of Antioch, though certainly one of the most important events of the crusade, did not produce such immediate benefits as might have been anticipated. The first question for the crusaders, after the magnitude of their victory was ascertained, became, whether the army of the cross should advance to Jerusalem at once, or should pause for a certain time to refresh the wearied and exhausted soldiery. Almost all the lower orders were eager to press forward, and it has been urged, not without reason, that had the march been commenced at once, so great was the panic caused amongst the infidels by the overthrow of Kerboga, all the cities on the road, as well as Jerusalem itself, would have thrown open their

gates at once to the victorious army. Other motives, however, and those of very great weight, induced Godfrey and the rest of the leaders to resolve upon halting at Antioch for a time. They were now in the midst of summer; the troops were exhausted by disease as well as famine; the Count of Toulouse and many of the principal knights were ill; the way to Jerusalem was arid and barren; and at all times, but especially at that season of the year, a great want of water was known to exist upon the road. It seemed then absolutely necessary to give the troops some repose, and the time for marching was delayed to the month of October.

In the meanwhile it was determined to send messengers to Alexius, demanding the immediate fulfilment of his promises; and in order to give more dignity to the embassy, two of the crusading princes, Hugh of Vermandois, and Baldwin of Mons, Count of Hainault, were entrusted with the mission. The embassy proved unfortunate; Baldwin of Mons was betrayed into the hands of the Turks, not without suspicion of treachery on the part of the Emperor, and to the remonstrances of Hugh of Vermandois, who reached Constantinople, Alexius returned such answers as clearly shewed that he had not the slightest intention of ever joining the crusade. The threats which Hugh was charged to thunder at the head of that monarch came from too remote a quarter to create any alarm in the mind of the deceitful Greek; and although he

was glad to hear that his enemies, the Turks, were defeated and slaughtered, he was not at all sorry to find that his Christian friends were melting away under the united effects of famine, pestilence, and the sword.

Hugh of Vermandois was conciliated with all the pleasures of Constantinople, and the comforts of a Christian land brought to mind the sweets of France too forcibly to be resisted. He was now near home; he had no good news to carry back to the crusaders; he was wearied with the discomfort, and the toil, and the strife he had undergone; and yielding to his versatile character, he returned to France, abandoning his companions without ever attempting to excuse and palliate his conduct.

The princes whom he deserted had soon other causes for regretting that they had halted at Antioch. The fever which had been raging in the army for some time, assumed the character of a plague very soon after the defeat of Kerboga. The Count of Toulouse recovered; but a very great number of the noblest knights and warriors in the host fell a prey to the contagious malady which now spread amongst them. The chief of these was the noble and true-hearted Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, the first who had received the cross at the council of Clermont. At the same time the moral pestilence which had before affected the crusaders, returned after the victory, and vices of all

kinds reigned within the walls of Antioch. It became evident that to separate the forces of the cross was absolutely necessary, as well as to provide occupation for mind and body. Various towns and districts in the neighbourhood were still in the hands of the infidel, and Boemond led forth his troops on one side, while Godfrey, at the head of the men of Lorraine, proceeded to the somewhat anomalous task of assisting a Turkish Emir against the Mussulman Prince of Aleppo.

Redouan, Emir of the latter city, had laid siege to the capital of the Prince of Ezaz, who, it would appear, was his tributary, and an application was made to Godfrey to give assistance to the besieged. The Christian leader immediately marched to the assistance of Ezaz, and succeeded, after having been joined by Baldwin, in delivering the town from the forces of Redouan. Godfrey exacted, it would seem, somewhat hard conditions from his infidel ally, and then turned his steps towards Antioch; but, finding that the plague was still raging there, he led his troops in the direction of Edessa, and contributed greatly to fix his brother in the dignity which Baldwin had, I am inclined to believe,* usurped.

It would be endless to notice all the petty wars that now took place around Antioch; for nothing would appear upon the face of the history but the siege of various cities, of no great interest to any

* See the history of Baldwin in the second volume.

one. Although in some instances the garrison held out after all hope of relief was at an end, the whole of Cilicia was, in the end, conquered by Boemond; the principality of Edessa, and a number of towns and strong places surrounding it, were secured to the Christian cause, and the country in the rear was cleared of enemies; while nothing but timid and ill-judging foes occupied the chief fortresses on the way to Jerusalem. Tripoli, indeed, was well garrisoned, and possessed a large tract of rich and fertile soil, but the disunion of the Mahomedan princes rendered the advantages of any individual Emir of little or no avail to the general body. The Emir of Tripoli, as well as his fellows, entertained great jealousy of some of the neighbouring states, and only waited for the advance of the crusaders, to enter into negotiations with the enemies of his faith. Godfrey was very willing to receive any of the Syrian rulers into a certain degree of favour, to render himself a sort of arbitrator in their quarrels, and to gain a pretext for judging between them; but many circumstances combined to delay his advance, arising more from the difficult situation of the allies than the efforts of their adversaries.

During Godfrey's absence the other princes had been carrying on the same desultory warfare; and all those private individuals who could gather together any large band of companions, had set out

upon separate expeditions, in one or two instances conquering some of the neighbouring cities.*

At the time that Godfrey returned to Antioch, the crusading leaders were still scattered over the country, and the Count of Toulouse had made himself master of Albar, and some other places. Having chosen a priest from his host, he created him Bishop of Albar, which strange proceeding was afterwards confirmed and sanctioned by the church.

On the news that the other princes were collected in Antioch, the Count marched back to that city, and found the people clamouring loudly to be led on to Jerusalem. The long-smothered quarrel, however, between Boemond and Raymond burst forth, on the first proposal to quit the city, and advance. The citadel, it is true, had been given up by the Count of St. Giles to the united body of the crusaders; but he still held possession of one of the gates of the town, and the palace of Baguisian, and positively refused to surrender them to the Prince of Tarentum, notwithstanding the agreement which had been made previous to the capture of Antioch. He used as a pretence the oath he had taken to Alexius; but no one can doubt, that at the bottom of the dispute were jealous rivalry and personal ambition. At length the murmurs of the people, who threatened to throw down the walls of Antioch, to abandon their

* See the excursion of Raymond Pelet, in Robert the Monk.

leaders, and to march on to Jerusalem without them, brought about a temporary accommodation of the quarrel. The Count of Toulouse agreed to march, if Boemond marched too; and it was determined that each should fortify the part of the town that he possessed, and leave it to the protection of some of his own soldiery. In this arrangement, however, the crafty Provençal was outwitted by the still more crafty Italian; for Boemond, possessing by much the larger portion of Antioch, took care that his adversary should not remain long in custody of any part of it, after the main body of the troops of Provence was actually withdrawn.

The Count of Toulouse and Robert of Flanders, after this dissension was appeased, marched out before the rest of the leaders, and laid siege to the large and populous town of Marrah; the inhabitants of which, confiding in their numbers, and in the strength of the city, scoffed at the crusading army, and performed every antic that they could devise, to shew their contempt for the cross, and those who bore that symbol. For some time the two counts made little or no progress in the siege; but at length Boemond also arrived. The attack was renewed with greater vigour; the Provençals and the Italians forced their way in; and the unfortunate inhabitants of Marrah were given up to the sword. The Provençals had always shewn themselves bloodthirsty, and at Albar they had killed all the inhabitants as soon as the city was taken; but here they

found rivals in the Italians, who led them on even to more horrible wickedness. Not able to slay the inhabitants quick enough one by one, they fell upon the expedient of hanging two or three in one cord. Men and women, the aged and children, were put to death without mercy, and night itself did not stop the effusion of blood, for guards were placed at all the gates, to prevent the escape of the unhappy citizens into the fields; and for three days the slaughter continued unremittingly.

With the cruelty of Boemond, there was a mixture of cold thoughtfulness, which rendered it more detestable than the mere savage ferocity of his fellow crusaders. He got possession of the strongest tower of Marrah on the first assault after his arrival, and caused a rumour to be spread among the richest citizens, that if they took refuge there they would be protected, and permitted to ransom themselves; but on the second or third day after the capture of the city, he commanded the whole of the unfortunate wretches to be brought forth, and gave an order for slaying all the sickly, the children, the old men and women, and for sending the strong and the young to be sold as slaves at Antioch.*

* The excuse which the crusaders made for their brutality when they thought it necessary to offer any, was, that the Turks had committed the same cruelties upon the Christians when they took these very towns. I have followed, in my account of the capture of Marrah, the statements of Robert the Monk and Raymond de Agiles, both of whom were present at the crusade,

No sooner had the savages finished the work of butchery at Marrah, than they naturally quarrelled amongst themselves; the Count of St. Giles declared that the city was his, but Boemond had got possession of several towers and strong points in the place, and refused to give them up, unless Raymond would in turn yield the palace and the gate at Antioch, which were still in his hands. This the Count would not do, and the other crusading leaders, who by this time had arrived, found it impossible to calm the dispute. Godfrey and several others withdrew in disgust; and the Duke of Lorraine proceeded once more to visit his brother Baldwin at Edessa.

Various conferences were now held between the different leaders, both at Marrah and Edessa; and many weeks were spent in endeavouring to reconcile Boemond and the Count; but every attempt proved vain. The provisions which Marrah afforded were soon exhausted; a terrible famine succeeded, and multitudes of the lower orders of cru-

and one of whom was certainly present at Marrah. The narrative of William of Tyre is very different, but his authority in regard to these points cannot be put in competition with that of eye-witnesses, as he was not himself living at the time, and took a great part of his account from Albert of Aix, who was not present. It is worthy of remark that both Robert and Raymond, who call all those bodies of the enemy that they met with before reaching Antioch, and, indeed, all on the northern and eastern sides of Syria, by the name of *Turks*, use the word *Saracens* for the people between Antioch and Jerusalem.

saders were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the putrid bodies of the Saracens whom they themselves had slain several weeks before. At length, indignation at the conduct of the two princes overcame every other feeling; the people rose, rushed to the walls which caused this new dissension, and with their own hands destroyed the fortifications of Marrah, and levelled the towers with the dust.

Shame seemed now to regain some influence with the chiefs, and serious preparations were made for pursuing the journey to Jerusalem, although no reconciliation took place between Boemond and the Count of St. Giles. The former returned to Antioch; and it would seem, though there is no positive assertion of the fact in the historians of the time, that Godfrey greatly condemned the conduct of the Count St. Giles, though he did not choose to support the Prince of Tarentum against him. Nearly at the same time that Raymond set out from Marrah, accompanied by Tancred and the Duke of Normandy, Godfrey, with the Count of Flanders, and Boemond, commenced their march from Antioch on a parallel line with the Count of St. Giles, but taking the road by the sea till they reached Laodicea. Before the Duke of Lorraine quitted Antioch, a reinforcement of Germans had disembarked in the port of St. Simeon, but immediately on their landing they had become food for the pestilence, which still raged in the captured city. At Laodicea, however, the great leader of the crusade gained an

accession to his forces, of no slight importance. In that port, he found the ships of a number of Flemish pirates, which had been detained by the inhabitants of Laodicea. Their crews had some time before been engaged in the service of Baldwin; and, though their religious feelings, as well as their moral qualities, were somewhat of a doubtful nature, they now willingly joined themselves to the host of the cross, and coasted along by the side of Godfrey's army, while it advanced from Laodicea to Ghibel, formerly Gabala. The Saracen emir of that city took fright at the approach of the crusaders, and endeavoured to enter into a composition with Godfrey for the safety of his territories; but the Duke of Lorraine sternly refused his request, and marching on, laid siege to Ghibel.

In the meanwhile, the Count of Toulouse, or St. Giles, had proceeded on his way with great success, receiving the submission of many cities on the road, as well as large sums for his tender treatment of those that yielded without resistance; and thus he had acquired for himself a reputation of being readily brought to feel the softening power of gold. The Emir of Ghibel, finding Godfrey inexorable, determined to apply to that leader of whose heart he possessed the key; and sent messengers, with large presents and generous promises, to the Count of Toulouse, who was at the time besieging the strong city of Archas, without making any great progress in the attack. The Provençal was

somewhat puzzled how to afford the suppliant deliverance, and to obtain the promised reward. His wit, however, was rarely at fault where money was to be obtained, and as the only means of accomplishing the purpose desired, he dispatched messengers to Godfrey, informing that Prince that an immense Saracen force was coming down upon the army under the walls of Archas, and that he feared every moment to be overwhelmed.

Godfrey was completely deceived; his chivalrous spirit was roused to the aid of his brother crusader; and, raising the siege of Ghibel, he marched at once to join Raymond at Archas. On his arrival before that place, however, the noble Tancred, and several other knights and gentlemen in the camp of Raymond, explained to the Duke of Lorraine the deceit which had been put upon him; and Godfrey, indignant, instantly withdrew his troops from those of the Count, and declared that he would not aid him in the siege he had undertaken. About the same time, the base love of gold, which was one of Raymond's conspicuous faults, induced him to refuse to pay Tancred the sums which he had promised for the support of that leader and his troops. A violent quarrel ensued; and the Prince of Otranto, withdrawing from his camp, joined himself to Godfrey, and followed that great commander through the rest of the crusade. Dissensions now spread through the whole of the host, and the only thing that could at length be agreed

upon, was to raise the siege of Archas and march on towards Jerusalem.

At Laodicea, Boemond had quitted the camp of Godfrey, and had returned to Antioch; but to show his confidence and good feeling towards the Duke of Lorraine, he left the greater part of his troops on his departure; and the deficiency which absence of those who followed him back to the Orontes had occasioned in the ranks of the cross, was supplied by the arrival of a body of English crusaders, the maritime habits of whose nation had been displayed by their sailing round the Spanish peninsula, passing the straits of Gibraltar, and making their way to Laodicea by sea; a voyage which in those days was considered little less than miraculous.

Before the army set out for its march to Jerusalem, however, the animosities which had arisen in the camp displayed themselves in an affair that combined somewhat of the ludicrous with much of the tragic. The unfortunate clerk of Provence, who had discovered at Antioch the head of the lance which led the crusaders on to their victory over Kerboga, had, since the success of that invention, drawn so largely upon the credulity of his companions, that the matter had become a jest. Thus, when factions sprang up in the host, and the Count of St. Giles rendered himself obnoxious by his intrigues, the business of the lance itself was called

in question, and an investigation was instituted which left little doubt that the whole affair was a piece of gross deception. The Count of Toulouse who, as the Custos of the Holy Lance, assumed great authority amongst his brethren, maintained the veracity of the clerk with great vehemence, and his chaplain—our worthy chronicler, Raymond de Agiles —was equally zealous in the defence of Peter Bartelmy, the finder, but unfortunately, not equally prudent. Confident in the reality of the visions of his friend, and certain that St. Andrew and all the rest of the saints who had appeared to him would not abandon him at a moment of need, Raymond de Agiles proposed that the unfortunate Provençal should prove his honesty by the fiery ordeal. This was a suggestion which in that age could not be rejected; the unhappy man was compelled to submit; the fire was lighted, he commenced his march through it, and what between consciousness of his knavery, and superstitious dread of the mode of trial which he had brought upon himself, he faltered, halted in the middle of the flame, and was consequently burnt. His partisans in the camp, indeed, were not persons to be convinced even by this proof; they declared that he had been pressed to death by the crowd, and they manufactured out of his history a very good case of martyrdom. The reputation of the Count of St. Giles, however, suffered greatly, and though he marched on towards

Jerusalem with the rest, he evidently was looked upon with coldness or animosity by almost all his companions.

Envoys about this time reached the camp of Godfrey from three very different quarters of the globe. The Emperor Alexius, who had probably heard that the Count of St. Giles made his claims the pretence for resisting Boemond, dispatched messengers to the princes of the crusade, impudently remonstrating against the cession of Antioch, and demanding the resignation of all their conquests in Syria. Godfrey's wrath was now roused, and he replied with indignant firmness, that Alexius had failed in his part of the contract between them; that he had given them neither assistance nor support, and that, having conquered by their own swords, by their own swords they would maintain their conquests. About the same time, the deputation which had been sent to the Khalif of Egypt, in return for his first embassy, rejoined the camp of the pilgrims with several of that monarch's officers: but his proposals were as arrogant and as unpalatable to Godfrey and his companions as those of Alexius, and the crusading leaders returned as fierce and proud an answer to the infidel Khalif, as to the Christian emperor. The third body of envoys came from the Emir of Tripoli, who besought Godfrey, in humble but not degrading terms, to pass through his land in peace, promising to supply him with all that was necessary by the way,

to deal with his forces with liberality and good faith, and to give him guides to conduct him through the land.* What motives induced Godfrey to shew more lenity to him than to other infidels, we do not know, but he agreed to the proposals made to him, and immediately commenced his march for Jerusalem, leaving the Count of St. Giles to continue the siege of Archas if he thought fit. A great part of that prince's troops left him and followed Godfrey, however, so that he himself was soon obliged to pursue the same course. In passing through the states of Tripoli, the army of the crusade displayed the remarkable moderation, honour, and good faith which it had shewn at the first outset. No plunder took place, no outrages were committed: to prevent all risk and danger, the forces were encamped at some distance from the walls of every town that they passed; but such was the extraordinary degree of discipline suddenly and unaccountably restored to them, that perfect confidence was established between them and the Tripolitans. The inhabitants of the country came in crowds to the Christian camp, and the crusaders were freely admitted to the towns and markets of Tripoli.† On the part of the Mussulmans, also, the

* Some writers have affirmed that he promised to become a Christian if they succeeded.

† It was in the neighbourhood of that city that the crusaders for the first time saw the sugar-cane, and learned the means of preparing that sweet condiment which has since become almost a necessary in Europe.

same good faith was observed; the emir himself visited Godfrey;* his people kept the camp abundantly supplied, his guides conducted the army by safe and pleasant roads; and, passing by Sidon, Acre, and Ramula, the host of the crusade at length reached Emaus.

During their march from Archas, all the associations of the land had been crowding upon the imaginations of the pilgrims of the cross. The names of Ramula, Sidon, Emaus, had all awakened the memories of what had passed in those places in earlier days; and at the latter town, when they encamped for the evening, the host was joined by envoys from the Christians of Bethlehem, beseeching the leaders to send forward a body of men to protect that town from the threatened vengeance of the Saracens. Tancred was accordingly dispatched with a hundred lances to give the assistance required, but during the whole of that night the host of the crusade knew no repose. The name of Bethlehem, Bethlehem! passed from mouth to mouth, recollections were awakened that banished sleep, all the enthusiasms of their nature were aroused, zeal and tenderness, and love, and hope, and indignation, for that sweet religion which they all professed, scared away slumber from every eye, and some hours before darkness disappeared the excitement became so great, that the army

* This visit is said to have taken place before the march of the army from Archas.

arrayed itself spontaneously, and began to move towards Jerusalem.

It was a beautiful summer morning, we are told, in the month of June, and ere the great body of the crusade had proceeded many miles, the day broke in all the majesty of eastern light. They had just reached the summit of a gentle hill, when starting up with the rapidity which characterises the dawn of Syria, the sun rushed forth, and they beheld in the distance a rocky steep, crowned with towers, and walls, and domes, and minarets. "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" became the cry throughout the army, as the object of all their toil, and labour, and strife, and suffering appeared before their eyes. All that they had endured up to that moment, weariness, thirst, famine, pestilence, and the sword, were forgotten in exceeding great joy, or only remembered to render that joy more ecstatic and overpowering. The effect could scarcely be borne: some laughed, some wept, some shouted "Hierosolyma!" some cast themselves on the ground, some fainted, and some died upon the spot.

The more devout of the pilgrims pulled off their shoes, and approached the scene of our redemption barefoot; but the general feeling which succeeded to the emotions produced by the first sight of the city, was wrath at seeing it in the hands of the infidel. The soldiery advanced with the strong determination of spending the last drop of

their blood to free the Redeemer's tomb from the power of the Mussulmans; and after a skirmish, in which some Saracens, who had come forth to reconnoitre, were driven in, the barbicans were carried by Godfrey, Tancred, and others, the wall itself was reached; and the assault commenced with mattocks, axes, and whatever other instruments could be procured. Some short ladders enabled the crusaders to climb up the wall, so as to urge the strife with the enemy upon the battlements, but those machines were not sufficiently tall or numerous to afford any prospect of success. The Saracens assailed the Christians as they approached with stones, arrows, and Greek fire, and as night advanced, it was found necessary to withdraw the troops of the crusade, and to delay any farther attack till catapults, mangonels, and the usual implements of war had been provided. Wood for the construction of these machines was procured from Sichon; some Genoese seamen, who had landed at Jaffa, and who were famous for their skill in mechanics, aided greatly in preparing the artillery afterwards used; but still much time was occupied in this task;* and in the meanwhile, a precaution

* Mills says, that a few days only were occupied in the preparations of the machines, and yet, he himself fixes the investment of the city on the ninth of June, and its capture on the fifteenth of July, being rather more than five weeks, during which time the crusaders suffered all the horrors of intense drought. The actual assault by which the city was

taken by the commander of the Egyptians, named Iftikhur-eddaule, or, the Glory of the Empire, operated terribly against the Christians. In the hottest and most arid part of the year, he had filled up all the wells, and the streams had been dried by the sun; such was the drought in the Christian camp, that a drop of liquid was not to be procured for a piece of gold. Springs, however, were at length discovered at a considerable distance from the city, but the service of procuring water was a very dangerous one, as the Mussulman forces infested the whole of the surrounding country, and cut off any small bodies which strayed from the Christian camp.

It is scarcely possible to arrive with any degree of certainty at the number of men with which the crusading leaders now besieged Jerusalem. It has been estimated at every different amount, from forty thousand to nearly a million. The former is the

taken, it must be remembered, only lasted two days. In regard to the exact day of the investment of Jerusalem, the statements of contemporaries are very various. Robert the Monk says, that it took place on the tenth of June; William of Tyre places it on the seventh; Fulcher agrees with William of Tyre, that it was the seventh of June: but they all agree, that the capture of the city was on the fifteenth of July. William of Tyre, it is to be remarked, speaks of the first combat between the Saracen and Christian troops, as having occurred on the fifth day, after the commencement of the siege; Raymond places it on the first, and Robert the Monk on the second.

lowest number given by the crusaders themselves;* the latter, we need hardly say, is the highest estimate of the Arabs. Kemaleddin would lead us to a more reasonable calculation, by telling us that the forces which attacked Marrah numbered a hundred thousand men.

Of the forces within the city of Jerusalem itself, we have better information, the regular garrison consisting of forty thousand men, besides both a vast number of Mussulman peasantry, who had taken refuge in the city, and the population which it contained at other times. It would certainly appear that Jerusalem presented in its defence as many men in a condition to bear arms as those which sat down before its walls. It was strongly fortified also, and its inhabitants were fresh, vigorous, and well supplied, while the crusaders were wearied, wasted, and without provisions. This, therefore, was in every respect the greatest and most difficult enterprise, as well as the crowning object of the whole crusade.

The modern city comprised within its fortifications four of the mountains, or rather hills, on which the capital of the Hebrews was anciently seated. These were Moria, Golgotha, Bezetha, and Acra;

* William of Tyre indeed declares, that there were only twenty-one thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry, fit to bear arms in the crusading force, when it sat down before Jerusalem. I cannot help supposing that here has been some error of transcription.

Mount Sion had been left out in the circuit of the walls, though it would appear that they extended some way up the rise of that hill. On three sides the place was defended by deep vallies, the valley of Josaphat on the east, that of Ennom on the south, and a lateral branch of the same valley on the west; on the north the approach was open. A narrow valley also divided the old town into two parts, the largest of which was Mount Moria, a great portion of Sion being, as we said, left out.

The camp of the crusaders, as at first marked out, extended from the north-eastern angle to the most western gate of the city; Godfrey himself with his troops ending the line towards the east, and the Count of St. Giles towards the west. But shortly after the various posts had been assigned, the Provençal leader finding that the deep valley between him and the walls must prove a continual obstacle to his operations, removed with a part of his troops to the rise of Mount Sion, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the other leaders, who were greatly offended by this proceeding, and refused to give him any assistance in defending his new camp. He contrived, nevertheless, to seduce a number of the soldiery from the quarters of his neighbours; and thus the dissensions, as well as the vices of the crusaders, were renewed under the walls of Jerusalem, and seem not to have been less than at Antioch or Marrah.

The construction of the machines, however, went

on from day to day, and a period was fixed for the recommencement of the attack. The importance of the undertaking, the probable death of many there present, the revival of hopes and expectations, caused by preparations for the last grand effort, at length re-awakened in the bosoms of the crusaders the finer and higher feelings which had at one time entirely possessed them. The princes met together and consulted; the clergy interposed, and represented how unfit were men, soiled with vices, and heated with contention amongst themselves, to fight for the deliverance of the sepulchre of Christ, and attempt the recovery of the city of God. The hearts of the hearers were melted, and setting an example to the whole host, Tancred offered to be reconciled to his enemy the Count of Toulouse, and embraced him in the face of the army. All the other quarrels and dissensions ceased at the same time. The princes and the soldiery were exhorted to repent by Peter the Hermit, who had now recovered a considerable portion of his influence; and a solemn procession round the walls took place to the sounds of psalms and hymns, while the priests bore the symbols of salvation barefooted, and the warriors followed, repeating aloud, "God wills it! God wills it!" Various acts of devotion and penance were performed; and the excitement of men's minds caused the enthusiastic to see visions and hear prophecies, and the credulous to believe them. But as the hour approached, hope and ex-

pectation were raised as well as superstition, and one of the military proceedings of Godfrey which had something marvellous in its character, increased the confidence of the people.

Various warlike machines, of great power and immense bulk, had been constructed opposite those points in the fortifications which the leaders intended to attack; but the Duke of Lorraine had remarked that where he, the Count of Flanders, and Robert of Normandy had sat down, the Saracens had never ceased to strengthen their defences. The walls, also, were there extremely high, the ditch deep, and the valley rugged, and, not long before the assault took place, Godfrey formed the sudden determination of moving the immense tower, and all the other large engines which he had constructed, as well as his camp itself, to a spot between the gate of St. Stephen and the valley of Josophat, nearly a mile from his former position. The ground there was more even, and the Saracens, not expecting attack upon that side, had made no addition to the defences, so that a fairer prospect of success was to be found in that quarter. In the course of one night the whole of this operation was completed, the engines were taken down, carried piece by piece to the spot selected, and then reconstructed; and when day dawned on the following morning, the Christians and the Saracens were both astonished to behold the camp of Godfrey pitched opposite the weakest point of the city. Some time,

was still occupied in filling up a part of the ditch so as to enable the machines to be brought close to the walls;* but at length all was completed, and on the morning of Thursday, the fourteenth of July, 1099, the attack commenced.

The soldiers of the crusade took their places in the moveable towers, which were raised to such a height as to overtop the walls; the catapults were pushed forward to batter the defences, and the sow was dragged along to sap the foundations, while the mangonels and balista were brought as near as possible, to cast masses of stone and darts with the greatest possible effect.

As soon as the Saracens beheld the Christian army in motion, showers of arrows and javelins were poured forth from the battlements, and when the towers and the instruments for the sap came nearer, immense pieces of rock, beams of wood, balls of flame, and torrents of the unextinguishable Greek fire, were cast down upon the heads of the crusaders. Still, however, they rushed on, undaunted and unchecked; the knights of the highest reputation occupying the upper stories of the towers, while Godfrey himself was seen armed with a bow, and exposed to all the shafts of the enemy, sending death around him with an unerring hand.

* William of Tyre says that the removal of the tower and camp of Godfrey took place on the night immediately preceding the assault; but there is every reason to believe that on this point he is not quite accurate.

In the meanwhile, a great number of the soldiers were busily employed in working the machines, while others covered the operations of those who had approached close to the wall, by incessant flights of arrows. The Saracens, however, opposed them with the energy of men fighting for their hearths and homes, and the valour of the crusaders themselves was only equal to the determined courage of the defenders of Jerusalem. From morning till nightfall the combat continued, but at length darkness fell over the earth, and the city was not yet taken. The walls of Jerusalem were much injured, as were also the military engines of the besiegers; but during the night both hosts laboured diligently, and the damage done was repaired before the morning.

The fifteenth of the month dawned at length, and found the crusaders in no degree discouraged by their previous want of success. On the contrary, the strife of the preceding day seemed but to have added fierceness and vehemence to their valour, and the assault recommenced with the same activity as on the first day. All the strong and active men in the army were engaged in the attack. Those whom the military machines could not contain were occupied in plying the mangonels and battering-rams. The old and the feeble, too, busied themselves in bringing up missiles and assisting the wounded; and the women mingled with the soldiers, bearing to them needful supplies of water and

provisions. Thus lasted the fight through the greater part of Friday, and victory seemed as far off as ever. A great deal of confusion and disarray existed in the ranks of the crusaders ; many were slain, many more were wounded, and scarcely any progress had been made in battering the walls, or breaking down the gates. The shower of arrows and other missiles from the battlements was as fierce as ever; and several of the Christian soldiery were seen withdrawing from the ranks, when suddenly, on a conspicuous part of Mount Olivet, a knight in shining armour was beheld waving on the dismayed crusaders to return to the attack.

A cry spread through the army that St. George had come down from Heaven to help them. All eyes beheld the figure of him on whom this designation was bestowed; and with renewed courage they rushed again to the assault.

As usually happens on such occasions, two or three advantages were gained at different points, nearly at the same moment. The gate of St. Stephen shook under the blows of Tancred, Robert of Normandy, and the Count of Flanders. An immense gabion of straw and cotton, which had been let down to protect the wall from the blows of a battering-ram placed near Godfrey of Bouillon himself, was set on fire and destroyed. The flames, which for a moment were very violent, drove the defenders from that part of the battlements; the moveable tower of the Duke was pushed up close

to the wall,* and one side of the highest stage being, as usual, constructed so as to let down and form a sort of bridge, was suffered to descend. A knight of Tournay, called Lutold, at that moment set the example to the whole host, and sprang from the platform upon the rampart of the besieged city. Another followed, and then Godfrey, Baldwin de Bourg, and Eustace, the brother of the Duke, one after another, leaped down to the support of Lutold.

Who carried the standard of the Cross, we are not told; but at that moment it was seen floating over the walls of Jerusalem, and with loud shouts the whole crusading army pressed forward to assail the city, with furious energy. An instant after the gate of St. Stephen gave way, and Tancred and the two Roberts rushed in, followed by the troops of Normandy, Flanders, and Otranto. By this time a breach had been effected in another part of the wall; and there, too, the German soldiers were entering in crowds, while numbers of the most resolute and gallant soldiers in the army poured down

* Mr. Mills says, "In the space of an hour the barbican was broken down, and Godfrey's tower rested against the inner wall." When writing this passage, he was surely ignorant of what a barbican was. It was the outmost defence of a gate; and had Godfrey been attacking one of the gates, he might have met a barbican to interrupt his progress; but the wall was the object of his assault, and the ditch itself, which was far within the barbican, had been previously filled up by the crusaders.

from the tower, to support Godfrey and his companions in possession of the wall.

The news soon reached the Count of Toulouse on the other side of the city that his companions were within the gates; and emulous of their achievement, he abandoned the efforts he was making from his moveable tower,* caused scaling ladders to be brought, and effected an entrance by escalade.

Despair took possession of the Mahommedan population; but it was not a cowardly despair, and they protracted the struggle in the streets for a considerable time. Some of the crusaders gave themselves up to plunder; but Godfrey and the great mass of the Christian force thought of nothing but slaughter. They recollected all the barbarous cruelties which had been exercised during several centuries upon the faithful; they recollected that but a few days before they had seen the men with whom they now fought hand to hand, raising the symbol of Christ's sufferings upon the walls of the very city where he suffered, and casting filth and ordure upon the sign of our salvation. They drove

* The Mahommedans in general declare that this tower had been totally destroyed; and Robert the Monk, though occasionally praising Raymond to the skies, says that he entered into a parley with one of the commanders of the gates, and obtained entrance on a promise of securing the lives of the Mussulman and his family. The authority of Raymond de Agiles, however, is to be preferred, notwithstanding his credulity, as he was at this time with the Count, and saw all that took place.

them through the streets, they followed them into the houses, they slaughtered them in the temples. For many hours no mercy was shown; and in one day, the fierce sword of enthusiastic intolerance did more than avenge the wrongs of four hundred years.

The most terrible slaughter that took place was in the mosque of Omar, where an immense body of the Mussulman population had taken refuge, and in which they made a furious and determined resistance.* It was some time before the crusaders could force their way in, but when they had done so, the massacre was awful. The blood poured from the temple in streams, and we are assured, that in the court, the flood of gore, before it could escape, rose to the knees of the mounted knights,

* It has been generally represented, that the massacre in the temple was the mere slaughter of an unresisting population. Mills says that "they fled to their temples, and submitted themselves to slaughter;" and I cannot but say, that this is a very wrong and very unjust way of writing history. Nobody from such expressions would imagine that the Mussulmans had defended the temple as if it had been a fortress. But let us hear the precise words of Robert the Monk, who was an eye-witness of what he relates, and who, as he thought the slaughter of the Saracens the most meritorious work the crusaders could perform, was not at all inclined to diminish the amount of butchery.—"Qui tamen de tantæ cladis maceratione elabi potuerunt, templum Salomonis intraverunt, et se ibi longo diei spatio defenderunt. Sed cùm jam dies inclinari videretur, nostri timentes solis occasum, animositate conceptâ, abdita templi irrumpunt, eosque miserâ morte pessundarunt. Tantùm ibi humani sanguinis effusum est, ut cesorum corpora, unda sanguinis impel-

and the bridles of the horses.* Ten thousand men were slain therein, and several thousand took refuge on the roof of the temple, and prepared to defend themselves to the last.

The day was now too far spent for the crusaders to attack them in this last stronghold, and as the fierceness of strife was now beginning to subside, the thirst for infidel blood was well nigh sated. Even on that first day a great number were spared; and on the second, the only farther slaughter that took place, occurred at the fatal Mosque of Omar. It would appear from the account of Robert, that the conquerors offered their lives to the Saracen soldiery, if they would surrender: but the Mussulmans, well knowing that slavery was to be their destiny, if they submitted, made up their minds to

lente volverentur per pavimentùm, et brachia sive truncatæ manus super cruorem fluitabant; et extraneo corpori jungebantur, ita ut nemo valeret discernere cujus erat corporis brachium, quod truncato corpori erat adjunctum. Ipse etiam milites qui hoc carnificium operabantur, exhalantes calidi fervoris nebulas vix patiebantur. Hac itaque inenarrabili cæde peracta, aliquantulum naturæ indulserunt; et plures ex juvenibus tam viros quàm mulieres vitæ reservaverunt, et suo famulatui mancipaverunt."

* Such is the account of the slaughter given by Raymond de Agiles, but the particulars which he tells are still more horrible and revolting of some of the sights presented by Jerusalem at this moment. "Videbantur per viscos et plateas civitatis aggeres capitum, et manuum atque pedum. Per cadevera verò publicè, hominum et equitum discursus erat."

death. The passage to the top of the temple was forced by the Christians, and many of the Saracens were slaughtered on the roof, many cast themselves down and were dashed to pieces.

Such was the close of this horrible scene; which in itself possesses too many painful and distressing points, to need those efforts which have been liberally bestowed in the present age, to make it appear more lamentable and shocking than it really was. Everything has been done to create an impression that the slaughter was indiscriminate and universal, and that it was generally renewed on the second day, for the purpose of exterminating the whole of the Mahommedan population of Jerusalem. We have the testimony of eye-witnesses to prove, that even on the very day of the storming, great numbers were spared;* and there is not the slightest reason to believe that any massacre at all took place on the second day, except in the temple, where the determined resistance of the Mussulmans left the crusaders no choice. The most convincing

* Nec tamen omnes occiderunt, sed servituti suæ plurimos reservaverunt. The story of the second massacre rests entirely on Albert of Aix, who never visited the Holy Land at all. None of the eye-witnesses make such a statement; and as Albert couples it with the assertion, which I have distinctly proved to be false, that all the Saracens were slain in this second massacre; and as the Archbishop of Tyre, who did not fail to copy Albert wherever he was accurate, differs from him here, I have no scruple at all in saying that the whole story is without foundation.

testimony, however, is that of the Arab writer Ibngiouzi, who tells us that one-half of the population was spared. He computes the amount of the slain at a hundred thousand, which was very nearly the number of fighting men supposed to be within the city.*

As soon as the capture of Jerusalem was complete, and the great work for which they had come so many miles, and endured so many evils, was accomplished, the leaders of the crusade threw off the panoply of war, and putting on the vestments of penitents, proceeded from one holy place to another, to offer up their adorations with prayers and tears. The places of peculiar sanctity were purified and washed from the blood with which they were stained, and the grand consideration then became, how the Christian dominion, which it had cost so much to re-establish in the east, could be best maintained, surrounded as it was on every side by infidel enemies, whom every principle of policy should have taught to unite for the purpose of crushing the small body of inveterate foes which had

* The only Arabian authority that I find which states the massacre to have continued beyond the first day, is that of the Aiman Jalal addin el Siuti, who says that it lasted seven. But as he did not flourish until very many years after, his statement is not to be put in competition with that of all the contemporary historians. It is evident that the statement of Albert of Aix, in regard to a second massacre, was founded upon a vague report of the attack upon the mosque of Omar.

succeeded in planting the banner of the cross where the standard of Islam had so long stood unassailed.*

* The feelings which influenced the crusaders in the slaughter of the Saracens, and the full conviction which they entertained that they were doing God good service in slaying the enemies of the Christian faith, are so clearly expressed by the Abbot Guibert, that I cannot resist quoting his words:—"Tantas Gentilium usquam cædes accidisse rarò legimus, nunquam videmus; Deo eis referente vicem, qui tot, pro se peregrinantium pœnas et mortes, quas tanto fuerant tempore ibidem passi, dignâ nequissimis retributione restituit. Non enim est quisquam sub Deo intellectus, cui æstemabile habeatur, quanta illic cunctis sancta loca petentibus, à Gentilium insolentia tormenta, labores, atque neces inlata constent: quæ magis Deum certa est fide doluisse credendum, quàm manu profanâ captivatam crucem atque sepulchrum."—*Guibertus.*

BOOK VIII.

Some time before the capture of the city of Jerusalem, the difficulties and dangers which surrounded the crusaders had called forth a proposal, which no one had dreamed of at the commencement of the crusade. A part of the troops clamoured loudly for the election of a king;* and the dissensions which had taken place amongst the leaders, with the general want of unity in object, and in action, which had been conspicuous in all their proceedings since the siege of Antioch, certainly shewed, in a manner likely to convince the blindest, that a leader was wanting, endowed with greater powers than those which the princes of the crusade had conferred upon Godfrey. So general was this feeling, that, at the end of eight days, the principal chiefs met together to elect a king of Jerusalem.

It might well be supposed that intrigues and dissensions would mark the choice of the princes; but

Raymond de Agiles.

no such events occurred, and there seems to have been very little doubt or hesitation in the mind of any one. The various writers of different nations have declared, indeed, that the great honour of being selected from so many, to fill such a post, was conferred upon the leader to whom their prejudices particularly attached them, and Raymond de Agiles, the bigoted follower of the Count St. Giles, asserts that, in the first instance, the crown of Jerusalem was held out to him. Any one who has remarked the conduct of that prince during the whole of the first crusade, and the enmity that his avarice and deceit won from his fellow-crusaders; and who remembers that he took no share in the battle with Kerboga,—was one of the last in Antioch, and the last in Jerusalem, will easily judge that the great improbability of such a statement renders it worthy of very little attention; although De Agiles was in Jerusalem at the time, and generally sincere when his prejudices and partialities permitted him to be so.

Robert the Monk, however, who was also present, and Fulcher of Chartres, who was in the neighbourhood, give a different account, and declare the election to have been, as in all probability it was, perfectly unanimous. "By the common decree of all," says the first writer, "by universal wish, and general assent, the Duke Godfrey was elected, on the eighth day after the capture of the city; and well did they all concur in such a

choice, for he shewed himself such in his government, that he did more honour to the royal dignity than that dignity conferred on him. This honour did not make him illustrious, but the glory of the honour was multiplied by him. . . . He shewed himself so superior and excellent in royal majesty, that if it had been possible to bring all the kings of the earth around him, he would have been judged by all; the first in chivalrous qualities, in beauty of face and body, and noble regularity of life." Nor is Fulcher less laudatory; after describing the conquest of Jerusalem, he says, "Godfrey was the first prince made, who, from the excellence of his nobility, his valour as a knight, his gentleness of manners, modest patience, and admirable morals, the whole people of the army of God elected as chief of the kingdom of the Holy City, to reign therein, and to preserve it."

Godfrey was probably one of the few who did not seek the honour imposed upon him, but, on the contrary, notwithstanding the pressing intreaties of his fellow-princes, he declined to receive the title of king, declaring that he would never wear a crown of gold in a city where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns; and that he was contented with the title of Defender of the Holy Sepulchre.

The life of this great and good prince was short, but it was active and important. The conquest of Jerusalem itself, a place regarded with nearly as much veneration by the Mussulmans as by the

Christians, was calculated to rouse the whole Mahommedan world to arms, and the necessity of proving to the enemies of the cross that the Christians were able to defend, as well as recover, the Holy Land, was soon shewn by the assembling of a large Saracen army in the neighbourhood of Ascalon, within a very short distance of the capital. This force was commanded by Afdal, the Vizier of the Khalif of Egypt. "He was accompanied," the Arabian historian Ibngiouzi says, "by twenty thousand men;" but the Christians raise the numbers very greatly, and it is certain that he was joined by considerable reinforcements on his march.

Godfrey and his companions immediately marched from Jerusalem to attack the Vizier, and both armies prepared for a decisive battle. The king and the Christian host advanced with such great rapidity, that the enemy was not aware of their approach till the vanguard of the crusading force had charged a large body of Arab herdsmen, who were feeding their flocks in some pastures on the banks of a river; when the shepherds were immediately put to flight, and an immense quantity of cattle of all kinds fell into the hands of the crusaders.

On his march, Godfrey had been joined by a number of detachments from cities which he had caused to be occupied, but still his force was very far inferior to that which now presented itself in the neighbourhood of Ascalon. There was no hesitation, however, in regard to giving battle. Godfrey

himself commanded the left wing of his army, and Raymond of St. Giles the right, which stretched down to the sea; while Robert of Normandy, Tancred, and the Count of Flanders, appeared in the centre. The enemy remained waiting the attack, but the charge of the crusaders was so impetuous that the Mussulmans do not seem to have resisted for a moment. Amongst the various accounts of this battle, that given by Raymond de Agiles is, perhaps, as fair as any, though he hardly mentions the name of Godfrey. "Robert of Normandy," he says, "recognising the Vizier by his standard, which stood near him, galloped forward with such fury that he reached him in the midst of his attendants, and wounded him mortally.* The Count of Flanders brought up his troops with the same eagerness, and Tancred at once cut his way through, into the midst of the enemy's tents. At the same time, the Count of St. Giles drove the Saracens before him, along the sea-shore;† and the flight of the Mahommedans became general. Their numbers were so great, that they embarrassed each other in the flight, and the slaughter which took place was tremendous.

* In this Raymond was mistaken; Afdal, whose courage and activity rendered him a sort of mayor of the palace to the Khalif of Egypt, served his master, or rather reigned in his stead for many years after that period.

† It is but fair to the memory of the Count of St. Giles to state that the Arabs themselves attribute the success of the Christians on this day entirely to him.

The series of victories which had attended the arms of the crusaders, thus crowned by such a splendid triumph, drove the Mahommedan population of Syria to despair; and multitudes, both of the Turks and Egyptians, now fled from the country which had been conquered by warriors of their own faith more than three centuries before, and took refuge in Persia, Arabia, and Egypt. Several of the Mussulman towns, however, were suffered to remain under their own Princes, upon condition of paying tribute, and indeed for a considerable time after the conquest of Jerusalem the forces of the newly established Christian kingdom were too small for the subjection of the whole territory. The power of the Christian princes was afterwards greatly increased by the influx of crusaders from Europe; but before any such accession of strength was received by the infant kingdom, Godfrey himself was taken ill, on his return from a distant expedition, and died in July, 1100, at the age of forty, having reigned not quite one year.

Before proceeding to notice briefly the fate of his companions and successors, it may be necessary to mention two events of importance, which took place during his short reign. We are told that every one on gaining possession of a house or an estate, planted his banner, or hung up his shield upon it, and thenceforth considered it as his own property, and hence we may easily conceive that the mixture of claims and rights produced very heterogeneous

and extraordinary notions regarding law and justice. France, England, Italy, Germany, and Flanders, had sent forth swarms, who in early life had been governed by laws, and had recognised rules, all, perhaps, having the same tendency, but all differing, and sometimes opposing each other, in the details. One of the first acts of Godfrey, then, was to appoint certain persons to inquire into the nature of those laws by which the various nations composing the crusade had been governed, and to draw up from the whole mass such a code as might be applicable to the situation of his new kingdom. This was, accordingly done, and the result was the compilation of that famous book of feudal law, known as the *Assizes de Jerusalem*. At what period this was first reduced to writing is a question, perhaps, of some doubt, but that the code owed its origin to Godfrey is perfectly ascertained.

The second event which took place under the reign of that prince of sufficient importance to require notice here, was the institution of the Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. An hospital for poor pilgrims had long existed in that city, indeed, from the days of the Emperor Charlemagne; but it would appear that the charitable establishment to which the Knights of St. John owed the foundation of their order was distinct from that of Charles the Great, and had been instituted many years before the commencement of the crusades, by a body of good Christians

from the wealthy trading city of Amalfi, whose commercial intercourse with the Saracens gave them sufficient influence to obtain sanction and protection in their humane enterprise. The persons who devoted themselves to the service of this hospital assumed the garb, and conformed to the rules of St. Benedict. A piece of ground was bought for them in the supposed neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre, and a chapel was erected, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The worthy brethren carried their charity so far, that they received under their care the sick poor of the Mussulman population; but after the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey, the walls of their hospital were filled with the wounded crusaders. One of these, a knight named Raymond Dupuy, attached himself to the hospital, and on the death of the abbot of the Benedictine monastery attached to it, was elected, under the designation of grand master. This change of title shews that some change in the institution itself had taken place, which occurrence is ascribed with much probability to the period immediately after the battle of Ascalon, when Godfrey shewed himself greatly interested in the hospital, and bestowed upon it a large estate in his hereditary dominions in Europe. For many years after, the poor brethren of St. John the Almoner, as they were called, continued to devote themselves solely to the care of the sick, increasing daily in riches, by the donations of those who benefited by the institution, or admired its ob-

ject. At what time they assumed the sword is not very clearly proved, but it would seem certain that they first appeared in arms during the reign of the second Baldwin.

It is necessary here to enter briefly into the history of the monarchs who succeeded upon the death of Godfrey. He himself was childless, and his sudden demise left the new kingdom without any acknowledged head. Tancred, who had ever remained attached to the Duke of Lorraine, since his quarrel with Raymond, at Archas, might be said to be in possession of Jerusalem, but he was, personally, without ambition. The desire of glory and a high sense of chivalrous honour were with him passions which superseded all selfish feelings, and without striving for a crown himself, he sent messengers to offer it to his cousin Boemond. That prince, however, was not in a condition to accept it; for before Tancred's messengers could reach him he had been captured by the Turks, in an unfortunate expedition, and was actually a prisoner in their hands.

Intrigues of various kinds succeeded, in which the clergy took a very active part, and in the end, much to the discontent of Tancred, the partisans of Baldwin, Prince of Edessa, obtained his election, though it would seem not in the most regular manner. The state of Edessa was, in various respects, more desirable than the kingdom of Jerusalem; but the magic name of a crown, and the

glory of ruling the Holy City, overcame all other considerations, and Baldwin gladly resigned his rich principality to Baldwin de Bourg, and hastened to take possession of his new dominions.

Having reached the height of his ambition, the brother of Godfrey displayed, in addition to those high military talents which had always been conspicuous in his character, many virtues which he was not known to possess, while the vices which had disgraced him disappeared altogether. His reign was that of a vigilant and active warrior; he was not indeed always successful, but he was never dismayed; and he added greatly to the territories of Jerusalem by the vigour and energy he evinced. During his reign, the two great leaders who had somewhat tarnished their reputation by quitting the host of the crusade while it halted at Antioch, made an effort to return to Syria in company with an immense body of princes and nobles, whose names it would be tedious to recapitulate. Amongst others, however, were the Dukes of Bavaria and Burgundy, the Prince of Parma, the Count of Poictiers, the Count of Nevers, and Ida, Marchioness of Austria. With these were, as I have said, Hugh of Vermandois, and Stephen, Count of Blois. At Constantinople, the leaders of this great reinforcement were met by Raymond of St. Giles, who, having determined to make himself master of Tripoli, had returned to Europe some short time before, with a view of obtaining assistance.

The fame he had acquired as one of the conquerors of Jerusalem, led all the others to put themselves, nominally, under his command and direction; but their very first act was to disregard his counsels, and to take the road which he advised them to avoid.

The leading division of the army was met by Kilig Arslan, who, since the fall of Nicea, had established the seat of government at Iconium, and over this new force of crusaders he obtained as signal a victory as their predecessors had gained over him at Dorylœum. Hugh of Vermandois, severely wounded, reached Tarsus, where he died; the Marchioness Ida was either trampled to death by the horses or carried away into captivity, whence she never returned. Several of the other princes were slain, and only one or two made their way on, and reached Jerusalem. Amongst these was Stephen, Count of Blois. All who thus joined the king of Jerusalem were expected to effect something for the preservation or extension of his dominions; and Baldwin, who was now upon the throne, called upon his former comrade to aid him in an expedition which he was about to undertake against a party of Egyptians who menaced his throne. Baldwin, however, was deceived by false intelligence; and believing the Mussulman force before him to be very small, he advanced with only seven hundred knights.

Suddenly, not far from the town of Ramula, he

found himself opposed by the whole Egyptian army; and, under these disadvantageous circumstances, a battle ensued, in which the Christian monarch and his troops were totally defeated. He himself, with such of his knights as could escape from the tremendous force by which they were nearly surrounded, fled to the castle of Ramula, and there prepared to defend himself to the last.

The son of the Vizier Afdal, who commanded the Saracen force, caused his principal prisoners to be brought before him, and amongst these was the unfortunate Stephen, Count of Blois. That prince had lost his reputation by flying from Syria, and he now lost his life by returning; for the son of Afdal, in revenge for his father's defeat at Ascalon, commanded four hundred of the prisoners to be put to death, of whom the Count of Blois was one. The Mussulman general then immediately invested Ramula on all sides; but an act of humanity which Baldwin had performed, now delivered him from the imminent peril in which he was placed. Some time previous, while marching in advance of his army, the King of Jerusalem had come suddenly upon an unfortunate Arab woman, who in flying before his troops, had been taken in labour by the way. Her husband had left her, it would seem, to seek for assistance, and she lay in all the pangs of childbirth, exposed to the heat of a Syrian sun. Baldwin was moved at the sight, and dismounting from his horse, he cast his cloak over her, gave her

water with his own hand, and leaving her two female camels, and two skins of water, he proceeded on his way, never dreaming of any return. One night, however, while shut up in the castle of Ramula, with an overpowering force of enemies around him, and nothing but death or captivity before his eyes, he was told that an Arab had approached the gate alone, and demanded importunately to see him. The man being admitted, informed him that he was the husband of her whom he had befriended in the hour of need; and that if he would trust to him, he would guide him safely through the enemy's camp. Baldwin did trust to him, and made his escape to Jerusalem, where he soon raised an army for the relief of his friends, some large reinforcements having arrived from Europe. In the meantime, dissensions had spread in the Mahommedan camp, and the siege was raised without a second battle. Thus frequently the quarrels of the various Syrian princes did more for the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem than even the gallantry and determination of the King of Jerusalem and his supporters. The armies from Egypt effected nothing against the crusaders, and those which were sent from Persia, had generally in view as much to punish some of the rebel emirs, who owned a nominal dependence upon that country, as to expel the Christians from Palestine; and, in consequence, before the end of 1103, the whole country, from Antioch to the frontiers of Arabia, was in

possession of the crusaders, with the exception of Ascalon, Tyre, Tripoli, and Aleppo; while the emir of the latter city paid tribute to Baldwin, and Tripoli and Ascalon, we are assured by some writers, did the same.

The Count of St. Giles resumed his designs against Tripoli as soon as he reached the Holy Land, on his return from Constantinople; and being aided by several other princes, he had made great progress in the siege of that city, when he was suddenly seized with illness and died. Aboul-feda declares that his lodging having been burnt during a sortie of the Mussulman troops from Tripoli, he received an injury by a fall in the midst of the flames, from which he died some short time after. It is probable that this statement is erroneous; the siege, nevertheless was continued after the death of Raymond, and the city being attacked both by sea and land, was captured, and placed under the government of the son of the Count of St. Giles.

In the meanwhile, the new state of Antioch had remained for some time under the command of Tancred, who had assumed the Regency during the captivity of Boemond. When the latter prince, however, was liberated on ransom, Tancred, whose probity never failed, resigned the city immediately to his relation, with the dependent territories, greatly increased by his own exertions. Boemond returned to Europe some time after, and remained there, detained by various occupations, till his death in 1109.

He left a son in Europe, by his wife, Constantia; and Tancred, who had married Constantia's sister, Cecilia, both being daughters of the King of France, maintained for three years the city and territory of Antioch against all the efforts of the enemy. The effects of a wound, however, which at first seemed to be slight, proved fatal, and, in the prime of his days, Tancred closed his eyes in reality sovereign of Antioch, though he only considered himself the representative of Boemond's child. In delivering over the government to his cousin Roger, the Regent exacted from his successor a promise, that in case the son of Boemond should ever return to the Holy Land, and claim the territory of Antioch, it should be yielded without resistance. Another generous trait of the dying soldier appears in one of his last acts. Aware of the necessity of union on the part of the crusaders, he sent for Pons, now Prince of Tripoli, the grandson of Raymond of St. Giles, and recommended, that when the tie between himself and Cecilia should be dissolved by death, she should unite her fate with that of the Tripolitan prince, and thus maintain unsevered the bond between France and the Holy Land.

The successes of Baldwin continued. During his reign, frequent bodies of armed pilgrims appeared in Syria, and served to people the deserted lands which had so long been occupied by the Saracens. English, Danes, and Flemings, Norwegians, and Venetians, made their way one by one to the coasts

of Palestine; each fresh corps aided the monarch of Jerusalem in extending his territories, and Assur, Cesarea, Acre, Beritus, Sidon, and one or two other places, were speedily added to the dominions of Baldwin. In revenge, however, for the continual hostility of the Egyptian Khalif, Baldwin determined to lead his troops into the dominions of the Fatimite prince, but he was here stopped in his career of success by the hand of death. A sickness fell upon him, which he felt to be mortal, and he died, with three injunctions to his followers on his lips; —to defend the Holy Land,—to choose Baldwin de Bourg for his successor,—and not to suffer his body to lie in Egypt, where it might be spurned by the scorn of the Mussulmans. Those who surrounded him doubted the possibility of transporting a corpse from one country to another, in a hot and unwholesome season of the year; but Baldwin gave minute orders for embalming his own body, and died with the utmost firmness and tranquillity.

Of all the princes who had led the army of the first crusade, Baldwin de Bourg now alone remained alive, in Syria; and the crown was offered to him, after some slight hesitation, as to whether it was not by right the inheritance of Eustace, the brother of Godfrey, and the first Baldwin. Eustace, however, was not in the Holy Land; one of the most brave and gallant of the crusading leaders, named Joscelyn de Courtenay, strongly urged the claims of Baldwin de Bourg, and that prince, accepting the

crown of Jerusalem, transferred the sovereignty of Edessa to his friend. The new king emulated the virtues of his predecessor, and was one of the most successful princes that ever reigned over the young kingdom of Jerusalem. He was harassed continually, it is true, by attacks from the Turks and the Saracens, and also very frequently by dissensions between the Christian nobles, who held their possessions as feudal parts of the empire; but happily for the infant kingdom, the quarrels between the Turkish princes in the neighbourhood were not less common, and the crusaders gained many advantages by taking part with one Mahommedan emir against another. A part of his reign, indeed, was passed by Baldwin de Bourg in a Saracen prison, but he was liberated at length, upon paying a ransom; and, about the same time, Tyre was conquered by the Christians. The Arabian authors, in speaking of the manifold wars and contentions of those times, claim a number of advantages, and certainly did obtain many; but there can be no doubt that the greater portion was on the side of the cross, and that the invaders were daily making greater and greater progress in the reduction of the whole of Syria.

In the reign of Baldwin de Bourg sprang up the famous order of the Knights Templars. The Mahommedans, seldom able to keep the field in large armies, scoured the country in detached parties, plundered the pilgrim and the traveller, and ren-

dered the road to Jerusalem little less difficult than during their actual occupation of the territory. At the same time, the influx of pilgrims into Palestine was greater than ever, and enthusiasm, generally more pure, high, and devoted, in the bosom of women than in the bosom of men, brought a number of those who most required protection upon the perilous road to the Holy City. To clear the country of the bands which infested it, to defend the weak and the young, two French gentlemen, named Hugh de Paganis, and Geoffrey de St. Aldemar, (or according to some, de St. Omer,) conceived the design of instituting an order, which should combine the religious severity of the monk with the military functions of the knight errant. They took the vows of celibacy and poverty, adopted the rule of St. Augustin, and, moreover, individually pledged themselves never to turn back before a less number than four adversaries. Their number at first amounted only to nine, and for the first nine years after the institution of the order, they wore the common dress of the day, receiving their garments from the charity of others; no plan, however, has yet been devised for keeping any body of men collectively poor, and enormous riches speedily flowed in upon these monastic knights. A palace was given to them, in the first instance, near the Temple of Jerusalem, and a large piece of ground which lay between the two buildings was also bestowed upon them, for the purpose of practising their military exercises. As

they had yet adopted no title, the circumstances of their habitation furnished them with a name, and they speedily were generally called Knights of the Temple, or Knights Templars. The signal services they performed, their daring courage, long suffering, and unshakeable determination of purpose, soon gained them great fame throughout the world. Their wealth and their numbers rapidly increased, and in the year 1128, just nine years after the foundation of the order, they had become of so much importance, that in a council held at Troyes, their rules and regulations were investigated and confirmed, and a peculiar dress was assigned to them, in order to distinguish them at once from all other persons. This dress was a robe of white, to which they added a large red cross. They also raised a banner of their own, on which was likewise displayed a red cross on a white ground. On this, as was very frequently the case in that day, they bestowed a name, calling it Beauseant, and when they went to battle, they bore a smaller banner, of white and black stripes.

The colours in the dress and standard of the Templars were supposed to be symbolical; the red and the white, representing purity of life, and courage even to death; and the black and the white of implacability towards their enemies, and tenderness towards their friends. In a very short time, however, though they retained the emblems, they lost part of the virtues whereof these colours were the

symbols, and the only two which remained appropriate were the red and the black.

On entering the order, the labours, the dangers, and the privations, which were before the candidate, were clearly and distinctly notified to him, and he was also admonished, that on taking the vows, he must, in a manner, resign his individuality. Not only his property and his actions thenceforth were to belong to the society, but his very thoughts and his feelings. He was then asked three times whether, after this full warning and explanation, he still continued desirous of binding himself by such strict engagements; and on his replying in the affirmative, he was admitted. Their valour soon acquired so much notoriety as to afford the strongest stimulus to acts of daring courage, and, we are told, that on hearing the call to arms, no Templar ever asked the number of the enemy, he only demanded, "Where are they?"

Having mentioned this singular institution, I must notice, though very briefly, a body of men even more extraordinary than the Templars, which had previously risen amongst the Mussulmans. Those weaknesses of the human understanding and judgment, which produce difference of opinion upon even the plainest and most demonstrable facts, have prevented even the simplest and purest of religions from existing in complete harmony, without sects or dissensions. It was not to be expected, then, that a doctrine which, like

that of Mahommed, appealed solely to the senses and the imagination, should long remain undivided by differences regarding the many obscure, doubtful, and irrational points, which he proposed to the faith of his followers. As his own family monopolized the religious, as well as the political authority of the Mahommedan world, we may very well comprehend how struggles soon took place between his descendants for doctrine, as well as for power. The Fatamite Khalifs of Egypt, and those who adhered to their creed, were considered as heretics by the great bulk of the Mussulman world, and at the outset their partisans, excepting in those countries where their immediate sway extended, were obliged to hide their opinions with the utmost care. This necessity of concealment probably gave rise to the famous sect of Ismalians or Batenians; at least we are assured that such was the case, and the name itself implies secrecy or concealment. These persons soon joined to their Mahommedan doctrines others, which they probably derived from the ancient Persian worship of the sun, or from the Pythagorean tenets still scattered throughout India. To inoffensive dogmata, however, they added, in the course of time, the most pernicious and diabolical practices which the world had then seen. The dark and horrible system which they pursued has indeed been since rivalled by some societies of Europe; and I have many doubts whether the famous German tribunal, known by

the name of *Velme*, whose secret slaughters even invaded the courts of princes, did not directly descend from the Batenians or Ismalians.

In the course of time, these men took possession of various mountainous tracts in the north of Persia, which seemed inaccessible to the foot of ordinary mortals; and, electing for themselves an Iman, or prince, they obeyed his authority with the most devoted and unswerving zeal. It would seem that their manners were characterized by all the luxury of eastern courts, carried to its utmost excess; and as they were firmly persuaded that an after state of existence, in which the pleasures they enjoyed upon earth were to be increased both in extent and intensity to an inconceivable degree, might be obtained by the unscrupulous performance of any act that their Iman thought fit to command; they not only committed the most horrible crimes without remorse, at his dictation, but met death and torture as the punishment thereof, without fear or hesitation. They acquired very soon a third name, which has become familiar to ourselves, as characterizing the blackest of human crimes, and by the time of the capture of Jerusalem were generally known as Assassins, or, more properly, Hachacins, from the name of an inebriating drink in which they used to indulge. This liquor was particularly employed in stupifying the Neophytes, who were afterwards conveyed, it is said, during the sleep that it produced, to the top of a high mountain, where

palaces and gardens had been formed, and filled with every allurement to sensual gratification. This, the deluded beings were told, was the foretaste of heaven, and before the delights provided for them could produce satiety or disease, another draught of the intoxicating liquor lulled them to repose, and they were carried back to the lower earth again. The followers of the Iman diffused themselves over the whole of Syria and Persia; there was not a city which had not several of his devoted disciples within the walls; and as the sect was peculiarly encouraged in the former country, some of the highest parts of Mount Libanus were taken possession of by the Batenians, as a sort of second capital, where a lieutenant of the Iman made his residence, and acquired amongst the Christians the name of the "old man of the mountains."

It would seem to have been the universal interests of the Mahommedan world to crush the serpent which had thus arisen in its bosom; but the degenerate state and fierce contentions of the Seljukes rendered the assistance of the Ismalians of frequent advantage to the Turkish emirs, and we find many a quarrel terminated by the dagger of the Assassin, with a result quite different from that which might have been produced had the decision thereof been left either to arms or negotiations. The Ismalians, however, contrived to sow dissensions as well as to terminate quarrels, and the protection which they received from some of the

princes very often roused the indignation of the neighbouring sovereigns, and increased that state of confusion and disunion which favoured the rise of the Christian monarchy in Palestine.

The life of a sovereign of Jerusalem was not usually very long; but the reign of Baldwin II. was protracted from 1118 to 1131. In the course of these thirteen years, Jerusalem had been visited by a number of princes from Europe, and amongst the rest by Fulk, Count of Anjou, a distinguished soldier, whom we have already had occasion to mention as the head of the house of Plantagenet, and grandfather of Henry II., King of England. This prince attracted particularly the attention of Baldwin de Bourg at a period when that monarch, feeling his health declining, and seeing no male heir, turned his eyes to the various nobles whose character and situation he knew, in order to select a worthy person to whom he could give the hand of his daughter Melesinda, and transmit the crown of Jerusalem. His choice ultimately fixed upon Fulk of Anjou, and although the beautiful and extensive territories which the Count possessed in Europe had no equivalent in a kingdom whose riches were strife, and its harvests death and contention, Fulk gladly accepted the offer, returned to Palestine, united his fate to Melesinda, and ascended the throne of Jerusalem on the death of Baldwin II.

The European territories of Fulk descended in the manner I have stated in another part of this

work. His latter years were spent in Jerusalem; where, indeed, he did not display any great portion of that active energy which was probably expected from him. His reign, which, like that of his predecessor, lasted thirteen years, was that of an amiable prince, and a gallant knight, but was in no degree conspicuous for any improvement in society, or any great military success. The extent of the kingdom of Jerusalem remained very nearly the same as when he had received the crown; and on his death it descended to his son, by Melesinda, who reigned under the title of Baldwin III. Fulk was killed from a fall from his horse, in imprudently pursuing a hare which started before his horse's feet, while on a party of pleasure; and the deep grief of Melesinda showed that he had been a kind and a tender husband, as well as a generous and affable prince.

The death of Fulk had scarcely taken place, when the greatest loss which had yet befallen the kingdom of Jerusalem occurred, in the fall of Edessa; but in order to explain how this disastrous event was brought about, we must pause for a moment, to sketch the history of one of the most extraordinary men of his time, and to notice the rise of a new dynasty in the East, which eclipsed the house of Seljuk, and is known under the name of the Attabecs. The first man of this family whom we find distinguished in history, is the

well-known Emad-Eddin Zengui, called by the Christian historians Sanguin. His father, Acsancer, it would seem, had been the sovereign of Aleppo previous to the period of the first crusade, but having lost his territories, and life, in some of the civil dissensions of the Turks, the young prince, then ten years old, was protected by the Emir of Moussoul. The early life of Zengui it is not necessary to dwell upon here, further than to remark that the state of depression in which his family was kept might naturally teach him that consummate cunning which he displayed throughout the whole course of his life; while his daring courage and military talents were fostered in all the strifes and contentions which at that time desolated the Turkish empire. We know that in his youth he fought with distinction in Syria, under Kerboga, and several other Emirs of Moussoul; but was then removed to the southern parts of the empire, and to a post of some importance. His next appointment was to a high office in Bagdad itself, where he remained till 1127, when his services were rewarded with the government of Moussoul; and no sooner had he taken possession of his new territories, than he sought to augment them by every means, honest and dishonest alike. Before trying his arms against the Franks, he endeavoured to extend his dominion over the Turkish inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia, and for that purpose

proposed and obtained from Joscelyn, Prince of Edessa, a short truce, which, nevertheless, was long enough to enable him to seize upon Haran, and several other towns and districts in the neighbourhood of Moussoul. Amongst these was the important city of Aleppo, which threw open its gates to him in January, 1128. His treacherous conduct, however, towards the Emir of Damascus, whose son he kidnapped, and kept as a prisoner, called upon him the enmity of all the neighbouring sovereigns, who gave him sufficient warlike occupation till the year 1130, when, in a battle with Boemond II., Prince of Antioch, he completely defeated the Christians, and had nearly captured Antioch itself after the death of the Prince, who was killed upon the field. The city, however, was relieved by Baldwin de Bourg, and for some time afterwards Zengui met with a quick series of misfortunes, in the end seeing himself beseiged in Moussoul by the Khalif Mostarsched. But his cunning and military skill triumphed over all obstacles, and he forced the Commander of the Faithful to raise the siege, and conclude a treaty of peace.

Zengui was subsequently engaged for some years in contests with the Greek emperor, the Emir of Damascus, and several other princes, and greatly increased his territories on all sides; till at length, remarking the weakness, debaucheries, and idleness of Joscelyn II., sovereign of Edessa, he watched his opportunity, when that prince had set out upon an ex-

pedition to Antioch,* and then invested the city of Edessa with all his forces. Before any relief could arrive, numerous breaches had been effected in the walls, the Mussulman soldiery rushed in, and a butchery took place of the same sanguinary character as that which had occurred at Jerusalem. Men, women, and children, were all slaughtered alike; but with the Christians of Edessa, as had been the case with the Mussulmans of the Holy City, the most determined resistance was made throughout the town; the fight being prolonged in the streets till the whole place flowed with blood. The inhabitants were driven onward towards the citadel, the gates of which being closed against them, the unfortunate Christians were shut up in a narrow space, and slain in such multitudes, that the approach to the castle was blocked up by the pile of corpses. At length, however, Zengui ordered the carnage to cease; a number of women and children were reserved as slaves, the Armenian and Syrian Christians were spared, but all the male Franks that were found were put to the sword, and Edessa and all its territory was completely brought under the Turkish domination.

The Euphrates now became the boundary of

* It is very generally stated that he was indulging in dissolute pleasures at Turbessel. Ibn-Alatir, however, only says that he had gone to his territories to the west of the Euphrates. The Arabian authors also speak of his talents in war as very superior to those of the other Christian princes.

the Christian dominions on that side, and the rejoicing of the Mussulmans was only surpassed by the lamentations of the Christians. The Attabec, however, was not destined long to enjoy his success; his character was naturally fierce and despotic, and while besieging the small town of Giabar, in 1146,* two years after the fall of Edessa, he was murdered in his sleep by some of his Mamelukes, whom he had threatened on the preceding day, and who saw no prospect of their own safety but in the death of their master. Thus died, before he had reached old age, the famous Zengui, who may be considered as the first restorer of the Mussulman superiority in Syria. He had many of the qualities of a great man, but he had all the cunning† of a barbarian; and the mean and

* By others his death is placed on the 25th of September, 1145. The Arabic historians, however, give the date as in 1146 or 541 of the Hegira.

† All feeling of truth or honesty seems to have been absent from the bosom of Zengui, and he had occasionally recourse to even laughable expedients to deceive the Persian Sultan. On one occasion, when war seemed inevitable between that monarch and himself, he sent orders to his son, Saifeddin, who had remained as a sort of hostage at the imperial court, and was a great favourite, to run away, and instantly join him. The young man obeyed his father's commands, expecting to be received with open arms, but instead of that, the gates of the city were shut against him, and Zengui wrote to the sultan, expressing much indignation at his son's conduct, and telling him that he had sent the youth back in disgrace. Zengui also had an

treacherous arts by which he arrived at several of the objects of his ambition, form a strange contrast to his impetuous valour in the field. He had, however, four qualities, mental and corporeal, which were calculated to raise him in the opinion of the Mussulmans around him, and to found his power upon the basis of popular love and admiration. His courage was of the most brilliant kind, displaying itself continually, without effort, in the eyes of his troops. He was remarkably handsome in person, with the peculiarity of having blue eyes, in the midst of a nation where the complexion is almost uniformly dark. He was also noted for charity towards the poor of his own creed, and was distinguished by his hatred of the Christians, and his strong attachment to the doctrines of Mahommed.

The course of succession in the East has always been uncertain, and the situation of the natural heir one of the most dangerous in which a man can

insatiable thirst for news of all kinds, and kept paid spies in the courts of all the neighbouring princes, who furnished him with that intelligence by which he gained many of his principal successes. Although the actual sovereign of Moussoul, Aleppo, and all the country round, Zengui did not take the title of king or emir, at least so we are told by his historians; on the contrary, in order to shelter himself from the jealousy of neighbouring sovereigns, he affected to be nothing but the lieutenant of one of the descendants of the Seljukian princes of Moussoul, (named, like his progenitor, Alp Arslan,) who was but a mere puppet in the hands of the crafty prince.

be placed. Zengui, it would appear, left numerous children, but only two of the number were, at the time of his death, qualified by age and talent to aspire to dominion. These two were Saif-eddin, his eldest son, and Nour-eddin, who afterwards became one of the most renowned monarchs of the Mussulman world. The moment that their father's decease was known, each availing himself of the circumstances in which he was placed, seized forcibly upon a part of Zengui's territories. Saifeddin took possession of Moussoul and its dependencies, and Noureddin established himself in Aleppo. The two brothers viewed each other with distrust and suspicion, and the Christians rejoicing in the death of Zengui, saw in the ambitious rivalry of Saifeddin and Noureddin, a prospect of deliverance from their most dangerous neighbours. Joscelyn de Courtenay, the ejected Prince of Edessa, seized the propitious moment, opened a communication with the Armenians and Syrians of the city he had lost, and once more took possession of it with a small force. But by this time the necessity of union had become apparent to the sons of Zengui. Noureddin, who, though the younger, had seized upon a portion of his elder brother's inheritance, naturally entertained greater apprehensions than Saifeddin himself; but it was at length agreed that each should retain what he possessed, and a meeting took place between the two Attabecs. They proceeded to the place of rendezvous on horseback, and the interview was

touching, from the conduct of both. Noureddin, who, it would seem, was still apprehensive, dismounted from his horse as soon as he saw his brother, and kissed the ground before him. Saifeddin, alighting likewise, instantly embraced his brother, and the two stern warriors melted into tears. "Why didst thou not come at once, my brother?" said Saifeddin; "Wert thou afraid of me? No, my brother, that which thou didst fear never once crossed my thoughts. What were life to me, what were the whole world, if I could seek the destruction of my brother?"

The reconciliation of the two sons of Zengui again struck the Franks of Jerusalem with alarm, and the terrible fate of Edessa soon shewed that alarm to be not unfounded. The Mussulman troops in the citadel held out against the power of Joscelyn, and before he could reduce them, intelligence arrived that Noureddin, at the head of an immense army, was advancing rapidly to succour the besieged.* Before any plans could be formed, or any aid arrive from the Christian princes of Palestine, the forces of Noureddin invested Edessa on all sides, and Joscelyn and his unhappy supporters were attacked on the one side by the garrison of the citadel, and on the other by the besieging force. The place was not provided with means of resistance, and it soon became evi-

* It is from William of Tyre that we learn that Noureddin was still at the conference with his brother, when Joscelyn regained possession of Edessa.

dent that the inhabitants of Edessa must either surrender, or endeavour to cut their way through the Mahommedan forces. The latter alternative was chosen, and indeed, if the account of William of Tyre be correct, Joscelyn was driven to that decision; for the soldiers of the Attabec had already forced the walls, or by some other means had obtained a partial possession of the town. None of the citizens would remain behind and risk the vengeance of the Mussulmans. Men, women, children, the old and the young alike, the sick and the infirm, trooped out of the gates of Edessa in the midst of the night; and their leader, it is but fair to say, did the best that he could to defend them from the superior army of the Turks.

Noureddin, however, had obtained intelligence of the plan of the Edessenes. They were attacked in the rear, and on both flanks, as they issued from the gates, and a terrible slaughter took place. Nevertheless, Joscelyn succeeded in forcing a way, and marched on towards the Euphrates, fighting at every step with a degree of gallantry and determination, which redeemed in some degree the errors of his previous life. For several miles this running fight was kept up, and every moment thousands on thousands of the Christian population fell, till at length the rout became complete. Each then consulted his own safety as far as possible, and Joscelyn found refuge in one of the Christian cities. Few, however, of the Syrians and Armenians who had

quitted Edessa on that terrible night, escaped the sword of the enemy. No mercy was shown; and if the women were reserved from death, it was but to become objects of Mahommedan lust.

The views of Noureddin and his father, in their pertinacious efforts to obtain Edessa, were fully displayed by the first act he performed after his conquest. He repaired not the fortifications, he placed no strong garrison in the city; but he at once levelled the walls to the ground, in order that Edessa might no longer be the bulwark of the Christian frontier in that quarter: thus announcing to the princes of Palestine, that his life was to be devoted to continual attacks upon the territory which they had gained.

Baldwin III., who now sat upon the throne of Jerusalem, though still in his early youth, and at that period tainted with some vices,* which he afterwards cast off, was not unworthy of the race from which he sprang. He proved himself brave, active, intelligent, sober, temperate, and profoundly versed in the feudal law of the land. Indeed, he seems to have been one of the most accomplished princes of the age in which he lived; and, like Godfrey of Bouillon, to have found time for the cultivation of literary tastes, even in the midst of fierce wars and anxious contentions. It would appear that the warriors of the new kingdom beheld with some

* William of Tyre accuses him of a fondness for dice and women.

degree of jealousy the bodies of armed auxiliaries which occasionally flocked into Palestine from various parts of Europe; but those who regarded the state of the monarchy there existing with reference to the permanence of a Christian dynasty in the Holy Land, saw the absolute necessity of continual reinforcements, for the preservation of the throne of Jerusalem. On the fall of Edessa, then, the more politic of the European leaders eagerly solicited aid against the overwhelming Mahommedan power which only wanted unity of operation to annihilate the Latin forces in Syria. Letter after letter, messenger after messenger, appealed to the princes of Christendom for aid against the infidel; and at length the pope, Eugenius, took up the cause. St. Bernard, one of the most eloquent men of his day, was enlisted as the advocate of a new crusade; and once more the millions of the west were put in motion to resist the Mussulman.

No state of things, indeed, could be less favourable for the commencement of such an enterprise than the position of affairs in Europe at the time of the fall of Edessa. England was exhausted by the contention between Stephen and Matilda. France, under Louis VII., was altogether a different country from that France which sent forth such multitudes to the first crusade. In her bosom the feudal power had received the first of those blows, which afterwards succeeded each other rapidly; and the great body of nobles found itself assailed, from below by

the rise and opposition of free communes, and from above by the increasing authority of the crown. But little hope existed now of gaining lands and fair possessions in the East, to compensate for fiefs resigned or neglected in Europe, and no inducement was wanting which might lead the Barons to remain in their own territories, for the defence of their rights and privileges against the busy adversaries which were daily springing up around them.

At the same time, impediments stood in the way of monarchs as well as of their people: the especial duty of the King of France to stay in his kingdom for the purpose of restraining his turbulent vassals, and protecting the rising communes against the tyrannical arm of feudal power, was evident to all wise and sensible men. Conrad, the Emperor of Germany, was more or less affected by the same political motives; but besides these obstacles, it must be remembered that all those first bright enthusiasms, the great religious zeal, the indignation at the wrongs of their fellow Christians, and the superstitious veneration for a land familiarized with their thoughts by early education but shut out from their personal knowledge by a host of dangers, difficulties, and toils, had now faded from the sight of the European princes, and no longer had the same effect upon the general mind.

Only two points in the state of Europe at the time were favourable to the preaching of a second crusade: the character of St. Bernard, and that of

Louis, King of France. The first of those personages combined wonderful eloquence, vast powers of reasoning and considerable erudition, with infinite self-confidence, an impressive tone of authority, extraordinary activity and dazzling enthusiasm. He was formed for the apostle of a proud and grasping church, and was in no degree less potent as an advocate of its unjust temporal ambition, because his own ambition was as frequently directed in the path of vanity as in that of pride. Louis VII., on the contrary, was, as we have shown elsewhere, one of the weakest and most inconsistent of men, but at the same time one of the most enthusiastic and superstitious. Thus he was a fitting disciple for the fiery Bernard, and a meet instrument for promoting a new crusade.

The pope laid his commands upon Bernard to proceed through France and Germany, exhorting Christians of all degrees to exert themselves for the delivery of the Holy Land; and the saint undertook the task. But it would appear that the first idea of such an enterprise was given to Eugenius by Louis VII. himself. In the course of the early wars which he waged against Thibalt, Count of Champagne, the French monarch had combined sacrilege and murder, in the barbarous act of burning thirteen hundred people in the church of Vitry, even after the count had made submission. A fit of illness followed; the pangs of remorse seized upon Louis; and in order to make atonement, he formed the

resolution of taking the cross, and proceeding to Palestine. Some have supposed the king himself pointed out to the supreme Pontiff that there was no one so well qualified to rouse men from the apathy into which they had fallen regarding the situation of the Holy Land, as the famous Abbot of Clairvaux, who in early life had abandoned the highest prospects, to devote his whole existence to gloomy fanaticism and religious enthusiasm, and whose reputation as an orator, a theologian, and a man of letters, was not even inferior to that of his unhappy rival, Abelard. I am not inclined to adopt this supposition, however, as Bernard was well known to Eugenius, who had lived under his rule.

We are told by Geoffrey of Clairvaux, who contributed a part to the well-known life of St. Bernard, that it was not without repeated entreaties the abbot was induced to undertake the task; but, considering the character of the preacher, this unwillingness seems very improbable; and it is quite clear from Bernard's own letters, that his vanity was highly gratified by the admiration which his oratory excited, not only in France, but in Germany also, where the very language which he spoke, whether it was the Latin or the Romance, was not generally understood, but where his gestures and his manner gained for him the palm of eloquence. The Emperor Conrad, indeed, resisted for some time; but at length the prospect of retribution in another world, for sloth and inactivity in this, awoke some

more enthusiastic feelings; and Bernard, in the end, had the satisfaction of seeing the cross assumed by the German monarch, and active preparations commenced for carrying on the war against the infidel.

An attempt, which was partially successful, notwithstanding the strenuous remonstrance and opposition of St. Bernard, was made about this time, to direct the inflamed passions of the Christians against the unhappy Hebrews, who were scattered throughout Europe. The most false, base, and calumnious stories were propagated by malice and ignorance; and some slaughter did take place, though the impulsion was not sufficiently strong to turn the excited enthusiasms of the people from the grand object of the crusade. The great body of the male population received the cross; and the saint gloried in the fact that he had depopulated the cities of Europe, and left not above one man where seven were supposed to exist before his eloquence scourged them into the east.

The character of this crusade, however, was very different from that of the first. It was rather a great military than a religious movement; and St. Bernard himself wisely declined to lead or to accompany the crusaders. The meeting place of the French troops was at Mayence—that of the Germans at Ratisbon; but though Louis assumed the cross first, Conrad entered the dominions of the emperor of the east before his brother monarch. Meeting with the same injury and insult from

Manuel which his predecessors had endured from Alexius, Conrad passed indignantly through the Byzantine territory, though not without much loss. Crossing the Bosphorus, he proceeded on his march, and did not at this time condescend to confer with the treacherous sovereign who filled the throne of the eastern empire. The number of soldiers who accompanied the German potentate, we cannot well ascertain; some of the Latin historians raise it to a million; and this amount would not appear very extravagant if the statement of Aboulfaradj be correct, that he set out with ninety thousand men at arms; for at an after period twelve foot soldiers were generally supposed to be the proportion to one horseman in a well organized army. Other writers fix the forces of Conrad at nine hundred thousand men; while Louis of France was followed by seventy thousand horsemen, and an innumerable body of foot. Many of those who accompanied the French king, indeed, were Englishmen, as we learn from William of Tyre, and from the English chronicles of the time.* Both the armies were ornamented or

* The annals of Waverley give the following account of the commencement of the second crusade, by which it will be seen that notwithstanding the wars between Stephen and Henry, a number of distinguished English nobles took the cross: "Visis miraculis quæ fiebant in locis religiosis, et afflictione cum humilitate multimoda certis venientibus audita, et conquestione Christianorum de sanctis locis venientium super eruptione Paganorum, prædicatione etiam Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Clare-

encumbered by the presence of a number of women; and, while the German ladies displayed themselves in arms, with the military fury strong upon them, the French queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, with a gay bevy of Amazons who followed her, filled the camp with the merriment, and some say with the licentiousness, of the south.

While in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the German emperor certainly committed many wanton aggressions, and merited and obtained the name of barbarian, from the refined and treacherous Greeks. Manuel, however, probably more from policy than from revenge, had determined that a body of crusaders which might place the whole of Syria beyond his grasp for ever, should not reach the Holy Land unmolested; and though the western emperor would not trust himself within the walls of Constantinople, and the eastern monarch would not venture out of his capital, the latter cunningly offered, and the

vallensis viri non contemnendæ autoritatis, cui Papa Eugenius injunxerat hoc officium, commoti Ludovicus rex Francorum, Conradus imperator Alemannorum, Fredericus etiam dux Suevorum nepos ejus, Galaranus comes Mellent, Tertius Willielmus de Warama Comes frater ejus, Theodericus etiam comes Flandrensis, et alii multi magnæ autoritatis et dignitatis viri, Franci, Normanni, Anglici, et de aliis regionibus innumerabiles, non solum milites, sed etiam, Episcopi, Clerici, Monachi crucem in humeros assumentes ad iter Jerosolimitanum se præparaverunt. Rex autem Francorum et Robertus frater ejus et Galerant Comes Mellent et alii multi dominica in ramis palmarum crucem assumpserunt."

former foolishly received, guides to conduct the Christian forces towards the object of their journey.

We shall pause but little upon the events of the second crusade, having mentioned some of the circumstances connected therewith in another part of this work. Suffice it to say, that after crossing the sea, Conrad divided his troops into two bodies, confiding the one to the charge of the Bishop of Freysinghen, and reserving the other under his own authority. His forces, however, were betrayed by the imperial guides into the hands of the infidel, and there is some suspicion, also, of an attempt to mingle poison with their food. Led into the pathless deserts of Cappadocia, and lured on by the hope of arriving speedily at Iconium, they found themselves suddenly attacked by an immense army of Seljukian Turks, reinforced by all the different tribes and families of Mahommedans which could be brought together from the neighbouring country.

Taken at a disadvantage, embarrassed by the nature of the ground, and unable to oppose anything but heavy armed horsemen to the light and flying squadrons of the Turks, the host of the emperor suffered immense loss. The guides fled at the first onset; and Conrad, unable to bring the enemy to a regular battle, endeavoured to retrace his steps; but the Turks assailed him continually in his retreat, many of his most distinguished knights were slain, he himself was twice wounded, and when he at length reached the neighbourhood of

Nicea, the number of his troops did not amount to one-tenth of that with which he commenced his march from Germany.

In the meantime, the king of France had proceeded through Germany and Hungary; and the account of his advance shews that great progress in civilization had been made since the first crusade. All passed with quietness and regularity, interrupted only by a few private quarrels; and Louis having reached Constantinople in safety, was splendidly entertained by Manuel, who soon contrived to entangle him in irritating negotiations, the object of which evidently was to make Louis pledge himself to resign into the hands of the emperor whatever conquests he might make on the way to Jerusalem. In the midst of feasts and intrigues, however, intelligence reached the French army that Manuel was actually allied to the Turkish Sultan of Iconium, and the certainty that he was betraying his Christian brethren was forced upon the minds of the armed pilgrims. Many of the crusading princes urged their monarch vehemently to punish the baseness of the emperor; they represented that Constantinople had always been a stumbling-block in the way of the crusaders; that through the cowardice and the machinations of the Greeks, Jerusalem had been first lost, its recovery rendered doubly difficult, and its safety now endangered; and they besought him to attack Constantinople with all his forces, and sweep away the last poor remnant of the Eastern empire.

Louis, however, refused to violate his own good faith; and, crossing the sea, he advanced to Nicea, and encamped under the walls of that city. Manuel had filled the ears of the French king, during his stay in the imperial city, with tidings of the Emperor Conrad's success, but at Nicea, rumours began to reach Louis of the reverses of his allies; and ere long, the arrival of Frederic, Duke of Suabia, brought the whole terrible tidings to the French army. A meeting soon after took place between the king and the emperor, and Louis did all that he could to comfort and assist the German sovereign. Uniting their forces, they marched on in the vicinity of the sea, till they reached the city of Ephesus, where they halted for a time, and the armies subsequently separated. The conduct of the emperor in this transaction is not very clearly explained, although it is generally supposed that the comparison of his own worn, harassed, and defeated army, with the gay and undiminished troops of France, was too painful to him to be borne longer. Certain it is that he sent back the greater part of his forces by land, towards Constantinople, and taking ship himself, made his way to the court of the treacherous Manuel. It is to be remarked, however, that he was still doubtful of the fate of his half brother the Bishop of Freysinghen and the body of troops under his command, so that it is not improbable one of his objects was to gain intelligence of their situation before he proceeded farther on his way.

The French monarch, in the meantime, re-commenced his march with his own forces, accompanied by the Grand Master of the Templars, who had joined him at Constantinople; and till they arrived on the banks of the Meander, they met with neither difficulty nor opposition. On reaching that river, however, the Turkish army appeared drawn up on the other side, bold with the signal successes which they had obtained over the Germans. But the scene here was very different; the country was open, the French chivalry was fresh and active, a ford was speedily found, the knights plunged their horses into the water, the foot soldiers followed, and the Turks were attacked, and routed in every direction, with the most terrible slaughter. So great was the number of the slain, that the Greeks, when they saw the bones of the dead, acknowledged that Louis, with such power to destroy, had dealt very mercifully with Constantinople.

Success, however, was not always destined to attend the arms of the French king. In his march towards the Carian Laodicea, the army suffered a good deal, and that city itself was found completely deserted. From the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, the King of France learnt that the army of the Bishop of Freysinghen had endured as much as that of Conrad, and was totally dispersed. He nevertheless advanced boldly, till, at the end of a two days' march from Laodicea, some steep mountains presented themselves, which it was necessary

to traverse. Louis then divided his forces into two parts, and sent forward the first division under Geoffrey de Rancun, while he himself remained with the larger body, which was encumbered with the baggage of the army. The orders he gave to his advance guard were, to stop on the summit of the mountain, and there to encamp for the night; but Geoffrey de Rancun, by taking upon himself to judge for the commander-in-chief, brought about the destruction of one half of the French forces. His corps, consisting entirely of cavalry, and not loaded with much baggage, found the ascent of the mountain less difficult and tedious than had been expected. The distance traversed was not equal to a usual day's march, and although the sun was declining, and he had received distinct orders to halt on the top of the hill, Geoffrey proceeded several miles further before he pitched his tents. The king, fearful of being attacked in such a narrow pass, remained far behind to protect the rear of his army, while the foot soldiers of his division climbed the steep ascent. The mountains rose high on one side, and a deep precipice and torrent presented itself on the other. The moment that the infantry had reached the flat ground at the summit of the mountain, they found themselves in presence of a numerous Turkish force, which had marked the moment of separation, and now drove the French foot down the hill by a tremendous charge.

The first intimation of what had occurred was

given to Louis by the sight of his flying soldiery; and he instantly forced his way forwards, at the head of his men at arms; but the road was steep, and covered with loose stones; many of the horses fell, and rolled with their riders down the precipice, into the stream below; and ere the rest reached the top, the arrows of the Turks fell amongst them like hail, killing thousands, both of chargers and men, and throwing the whole body into confusion. The Turks now urged the fight more and more closely, the Christians were scattered in every direction, and killed as fugitives by the scimitar or the bow. Few, if any, of the men-at-arms, who had commenced the ascent of the hill, escaped from the pursuing sword of the infidel, and Louis preserved his own life by means little short of miraculous. He fought most gallantly, endeavouring to force his way at the head of his cavalry to the top of the hill; till at length, his horse being killed by an arrow towards the end of the day, he was surrounded by the enemy, and his death or capture seemed inevitable. At that moment, however, the monarch, pressed for his life, caught the branches of a tree that hung over his head, swung himself up with its assistance to the summit of an isolated piece of rock, and there, with his long double-handed sword, defended himself against all the efforts of the infidel till night fell, and the Turks returned to their camp. The king then descended from his perilous situation, but might still have perished in the midst of that

desolate tract, had he not fallen in with a part of his rear-guard, which had not commenced the ascent of the mountain.

With this small body, and the baggage which was under its protection, Louis rejoined Geoffrey de Rancun; and such was his indignation at the conduct of that leader, that he had well nigh sacrificed him to a just resentment. The uncle of the king, however, who had shared de Rancun's fault, now procured his pardon; and the enfeebled army marched on to Attalia, closely pursued by the Turks, but preserved from further loss by the strict discipline which was maintained by the Grand Master of the Templars.

At Attalia, new disasters befel the troops of Louis. The difficulties and dangers which lay between that city and Antioch, forced upon the monarch the determination of dividing his forces, and suffering a part to proceed by sea, while the rest endeavoured to effect their passage by land. At first, the king resolved to send the weak, the sick, and the infantry, in vessels hired from the Greeks of Attalia; but he was cheated in every transaction by the people of the place: the extravagant sum demanded for the conveyance of each man to Antioch rendered it impossible to send so great a multitude by that means, and it was at length decided that the king and his chivalry should take ship, while the pilgrims and foot soldiers, guarded and guided by the Count of Flanders, with a considerable

force of men-at-arms, should pursue the land journey. In order to insure as far as possible the safety of the large body of foot left behind, the king of France hired Greek guides, and a strong escort of Greek cavalry, to accompany them on the way; but he unwisely paid the whole of the sum agreed for before he took ship. The moment he was gone, the Greeks plainly intimated to the Count of Flanders that they had not the slightest intention of performing their agreement; and after some vain efforts to induce them to do so, finding that there was no chance of success, and as little probability of reaching Antioch if he proceeded without his perfidious allies, the Count of Flanders also took ship, with as many of the pilgrims as he could convey, and followed the king to Antioch. Still an immense number of unhappy wretches remained under the walls of Attalia. Louis, indeed, had furnished them with all the money he could spare before he departed; but the perfidious Greeks refused to admit them into the town, or to supply them with provisions; and the Turks daily straitened and assaulted them without, till at length the dreadful sufferings which they endured from famine, pestilence, and the sword, reached to such a point, that the hearts even of the Infidels melted with compassion; and the Mahommedans not only ceased their attacks, but supplied the starving pilgrims with food under the inhospitable walls of a Greek city. Of the poor remnant which was left,

some few made their way forward to Antioch, some few reached Constantinople on their return, and some, touched with the generosity of their adversaries, and confounding, in their hatred of the treacherous Greeks, a pure religion with its impure followers, abandoned Christianity, and embraced the faith of those who had saved them from a horrible death.

The conduct of the King of France has been justified by those who have viewed the question as a mere matter of expediency, but to those who consider the act he committed, in abandoning his followers to the fury of the Turks and the treachery of the Greeks, as a subject involving human feeling, Christian charity, or chivalrous honour, it must ever appear as a foul stain upon his reputation. We have no proof that he did any of the many things which he might have done to ensure the safety of a multitude committed to his charge, and no true knight in Europe, had such a host been necessarily exposed to such peril, would have failed to share it with them.*

The king was received in Antioch with every mark of honour and distinction ; but the conduct of

* " Ludovicus rex Francorum et Regina Alionor et socii sui quos supra memoravimus, præsente Papa Eugenio in expeditionem Jerosolimitanum ituri à Parisiis recesserunt. Quas tribulationes et miserias in ipso itinere dum per terram Imperatoris Constantinopolis transirent, à fame, pestilentia, incursione paganorum perpessi sunt, non est nostri studii, enarrare. Quia

his queen, Eleanor, which we have mentioned elsewhere, was soon followed by his sudden departure for Jerusalem. In that city, joy and gratulation awaited him, though neither previously nor subsequently did he merit the thanks of the people of Palestine. The scattered fragments of the German army also reached the Holy Land, and, having been gathered together under Conrad, formed, with the troops of Louis and the forces of the King of Jerusalem, so large a body of tried men, that no enterprise could be considered too great for their powers.

A council was soon after held, in which the future operations of the army were discussed, and it was determined to besiege Damascus with the united forces of the cross, rather than repair and inhabit the ruined walls of Edessa. Baldwin, therefore, with Conrad and Louis, marched towards the city, at the head of an army amounting at this time, according to the historian Aboulfaradj, to the number of twenty thousand horsemen and sixty thousand foot; and Damascus was speedily besieged on all sides.

A number of events now took place, of which we

enim de rapina pauperum, et ecclesiarum spoliatione illud iter ex majori parte inceptum est, nec in eos qui se inhoneste habuerant vindicatum est, fere nihil prosperum, nihil memoria dignum in illa peregrinatione agitatum est." Such is the account given in the annals of Waverley of this most miserable and unprosperous expedition.

have but confused accounts. Noureddin, it would seem, commenced his march for the relief of Damascus, but paused unaccountably, though the Christians were already terribly straitened in their quarters, both by the besieged themselves, and by large bodies of Turks who hovered round them continually. Dissensions, it is true, existed between Noureddin, Saifeddin, and the Sultan of Persia; and, moreover, the vizier who commanded in Damascus, fearful of his own power if any of the Mohammedan princes should obtain a hold upon the territory, chose rather to resist the Franks unsupported than to encourage the approach of grasping and ambitious friends. His force was not sufficient, indeed, to meet the enemy in the field, but he harassed them by raising up a desolating species of warfare against them, offering a sum of money for every Frankish head that was brought into Damascus.

Still the siege was persevered in till the hopes of the garrison were well nigh exhausted; but at length the vizier contrived to sow dissensions amongst the Christian princes. It would appear, both by the account of Aboulfaradj and that of William of Tyre, that the Christians of Palestine received bribes from the Mussulman commander,*

* The account given of this transaction by Aboulfaradj is, that the Vizier of Damascus gave to Baldwin two hundred thousand pieces, representing besants, but made of copper, lightly gilt. He gave fifty thousand of the same base pieces of

who at the same time represented to the King of Jerusalem, or rather those who led and directed his youth, that if the Emperor and the King of France on ce got Palestine within their grasp, they would never loose their hold.

Whether it was the jealousy thus instilled, or the bribes thus given, that shook the faith of the Christians of Palestine, cannot be told, but it is clear that they betrayed their European brethren and induced them to leave the point of assault where they had made some progress, in order to recommence operations in a less favourable spot, changing the attack of the town to the opposite side. The Governor of Damascus having added to the motives which he had already held out, a threat of giving up the city to Saifeddin if the allies persisted in the siege, and an offer of resigning to them the town of Paneas if they abandoned the attempt, the persons whom he thus won to his interests, speedily persuaded the Emperor and the King of France to raise the siege, and make an ignominious retreat from before the walls of the besieged place. Who was peculiarly in fault, William of Tyre does not inform us, but the expedition and its consequences were disgraceful to all; to Conrad and Louis for their weakness, and to Baldwin and his advisers for

the same base coin to the Count of the Tiberiad. A story somewhat similar is told by Gervase; and the Syrian historian adds that the Christian commanders did not discover the fraud till they had raised the siege of Damascus.

the treachery of which some of them certainly were guilty. The European leaders, during their stay in the Holy Land, never ceased to view their Syrian companions with reasonable distrust, and Conrad speedily returning to Europe, was followed not long after by Louis.

The contempt, rather than the pity, of the world, followed the unsuccessful crusaders, and even St. Bernard himself, though still idolized by the church and the people, did not escape without reproach for having stimulated the monarchs of Christendom to such an undertaking, and announced its success in the tone of a prophet. Many were the attempts to justify the Abbot of Clairvaux, and the principles on which he was excused by his friends appear somewhat curious to our eyes at present. Odo of Freysinghen declares that prophets are not always able to prophesy; and Geoffrey of Clairvaux asserts that the crusade could not properly be called unfortunate, because, though it did not benefit the Christians of the Holy Land, it at least served to people heaven with martyrs.

There is some reason to believe that the result of the second crusade, and the disgrace which fell upon the Syrian leaders for the part they played therein, first roused the young king of Jerusalem from that state of voluptuous licentiousness which characterized his early years. Certain it is he at once started into that active and energetic monarch which he appeared during the rest of his career.

The first obstacles in his path arose from the domination of his mother, Melisinda, who still retained in her own hands, or in those of her favourite, Manassen, the whole power of the kingdom. This man acted as commandant of the troops during the whole of the early part of the reign of Baldwin; and as it would appear that he was of a covetous and grasping disposition, it is not improbable, though we do not find it absolutely so stated by William of Tyre, that those base acts, which the Mohammedan writers attribute to Baldwin, might more reasonably have been charged against Manassen. In the year 1149, however, Baldwin threw off the authority of his mother, took possession, by force of arms, of the various important towns she held; and, on her persevering resistance, besieged her in the citadel of Jerusalem. This painful and disgraceful contest was put an end to by the mediation of friends, and the young monarch, giving up to his mother the city of Naplouse for her dowry, thenceforward exercised the sole government of the kingdom of Jerusalem.*

Had the infidel been able to seize the moment while this short strife existed between the queen and her son, very great reverses might have befallen the infant kingdom; but Joscelyn, the Count of Edessa, had followed the example of Baldwin, and roused himself from his debaucheries to oppose the enemy with vigour; nor were his efforts unsuccess-

* William of Tyre, lib. 17.

ful, for in a great battle with the troops of Noureddin, at which it would appear that the Attabec was present himself, Joscelyn completely defeated the forces of Aleppo, and captured the armour-bearer and arms of the adverse sovereign. Boastful of his triumph, Joscelyn sent the arms of Noureddin to Massoud, Sultan of Iconium, the father-in-law of the Attabec prince, with the words, "Behold the arms of your daughter's husband. I will soon send you something better." The victory of Joscelyn must indeed have been great and complete, and from the accounts of the Arabians, it is probable that he gained many more successes over the armies of Noureddin than the jealous enmity of the Latin historians has suffered to appear.* But Noureddin

* The Arabian writers uniformly represent Joscelyn as one of the most valiant and skilful of the Christian commanders, and the evident fear and hatred with which they speak of him, give a testimony of his military skill and successes, which must more than counterbalance the unfavourable impression afforded by the writings of William of Tyre. "Joscelyn, Count of Edessa," says Kemaleddin, "had made himself remarkable amongst all the Christian lords, by his courage and his generosity."

"He was a furious fiend," says Ibn Alatir, "and the mortal enemy of the Mohammedan religion. He it was who used to lead the Franks to battle. Such was his prudence and his courage, such was his enmity to the Mussulman faith, and his cruelty towards its followers, that all Christendom felt his fall, and all Christians had cause to groan at his captivity."

The personal animosity of William of Tyre towards the unfortunate Joscelyn, displays itself openly in the manner in which he speaks of his death. It will be remarked, that his account

effected by craft what he had not been able to accomplish by force: instead of again taking the field, he had recourse to a pitiful artifice, caused the unfortunate prince of Edessa to be watched and waylaid, either upon a journey, or a hunting party, and having taken him prisoner, suffered him to die in a dungeon at Aleppo.*

I have preferred the Arabian to the Latin account of the death of Joscelyn the younger, but it may be necessary to say, that, according to William of Tyre, the sovereign of Edessa, at the time of his capture, was hastening towards Antioch for the purpose of aiding the widow of Raymond, prince of that ter-

in every respect is different from that of the Arabs. "Interea comes Edessanus Joscelinus junior, vir supinus, à patria degener honestate, sordibus effluens, libidine dissolutus, spretis melioribus perniciosa sequens, putans sibi optimè successisse, quòd Princeps Antiochenus, quem odio insatiabili persequebatur, occubuerat: non multum attendens, quàm verè dicatur, *Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet:* dum Antiochiam, ut dicitur, à domino Patriarcha evocatus, de nocte proficisceretur, separatus à comitatu, cum adolescente, qui ejus equum trahebat, gratia ut dicitur, aluum purgandi, et ut secretioribus naturæ satisfaceret debitis, ignorantibus tam iis qui præibant quam qui sequebantur, irruentibus in eum prædonibus, qui in insidiis latebant, captus est; ac vinculus mancipatus, *Halapiam* perductus est. Ubi immundarum viarum suarum fructus colligens, squalore carceris et cathenarum pondere fatigatus, anxietate spiritus et corporis jugi molestiâ consumptus, fine miserabili vitam finivit."

* Mills asserts that he was murdered in prison.

ritory, who was threatened by the whole forces of Aleppo and Iconium. Raymond himself, whose military qualities were of a very high order, had been hurried by the ardour of his courage into a battle with Noureddin, in which neither his skill, his herculean strength, nor his almost superhuman daring, proved available against the immense superiority of the enemy's troops. Noureddin had laid siege to the small town of Nepa, in the territory of Antioch, and without waiting to calculate his enemy's forces and to collect a sufficient army to engage him with a probability of success, Raymond set out to relieve the city at the head of a very scanty band of cavalry. Noureddin, on hearing that the Prince of Antioch was advancing against him, would not believe the report made of the numbers he brought with him, and accordingly raised the siege of Nepa. Emboldened by this success, Raymond encamped with his little army at a distance from the town, near a spring called the walled fountain. There he was surrounded by the vast forces of Noureddin, but resolving never to surrender, he gave battle under every disadvantage. The struggle was prolonged for several hours ; and after performing feats of valour scarcely credible, Raymond was at length slain, when his arm was so weary that he could wield his sword no more. His personal strength was so extraordinary that it excited the wonder both of the Christians and the Mussulmans ; and from the latter we learn, that he could stop his horse

at full speed, by seizing an iron ring which hung from the top of one of the gates of Antioch, and grasping the animal with his knees as he passed through. Another of the feats of strength recorded of him by the same authors, was bending a stirrup-iron double between his finger and thumb.

The death of Joscelyn and Raymond left the two frontier principalities of the Holy Land to be defended by women and children, and before Baldwin could take any means for repelling the enemy, all the towns in the county of Edessa, with the exception of Turbessel, had fallen into the hands of the Turks. Noureddin and his father-in-law, Massoud, Sultan of Iconium, acted together throughout the whole of these wars with an unity of purpose which was wanting amongst the Christians; and the latter prince, after having swept a great part of Syria, left Noureddin to conclude what he had so fatally begun. At the same time, the Emperor Manuel, ever eager for his own advantage, after having aided to bring about the misfortunes which had befallen Antioch and Edessa by his pretensions to the former state, now offered to purchase the latter from the widow of Joscelyn, promising to maintain it with his own troops, and recover possession of the parts which had been lost. Shortly after this proposal had been made, the King of Jerusalem having advanced towards Antioch, in order to succour that principality, was informed of the Emperor's offer; and seeing not the slightest proba-

bility of ever regaining the towns which had been captured, beholding the whole country overrun with the troops of Noureddin, and the countess with the shattered fragments of her husband's army closely shut up in Turbessel, he consented to the plan suggested. The only question which remained was, how to deliver the widowed Countess of Edessa from the perilous situation in which she was placed. For that purpose Baldwin marched to Turbessel, accompanied by the knights of the Temple and St. John. The envoys of the emperor were put in possession of the town; and the countess, with her family, and all those who chose to retire, issued forth under the escort of the King and his chivalry. Noureddin and his cavalry swept round them on every side, and assailed them with incessant flights of arrows; but the Red Cross Knights and their brethren of the Temple maintained so firm an array, that the Mussulmans did not venture to make a nearer attack. The countess and her train reached Antioch in safety, and then took place the last sad act in the history of Edessa. The Greek emperor, as impotent and inactive as he was cunning and treacherous, failed in preserving the principality, or recovering the lost cities; and, in a very few months, not a handful of dust remained to him of all that fine territory which had been conquered from the infidel by the ambition and genius of the first Baldwin.

While the military talents of Noureddin, and the

union between the princes of Aleppo and Iconium were extending the limits of Mussulman dominion in the north of Syria—where the feuds between the houses of Antioch and Edessa facilitated the progress of their enemies, and rendered their natural gallantry unavailing—the imbecility of the Egyptian khalifs, and the ambitious wars of their viziers and emirs, were favourable to the Christian arms in the south.

Notwithstanding the little interest at present taken in the eastern dynasties of that period, I must pause for a moment to notice some of the revolutions which occurred at this time in Egypt, as no clear picture that I know, has ever yet been given, in our own language, of the state of things which enabled the Christians of Jerusalem to gain their last great triumph, in the capture of Ascalon. At the beginning of the year 1153, the Vizier Adel, who had shewn considerable energy in defence of the khalif's territories, was still in possession of the supreme power, though, at that time, a man far advanced in life. It had been customary with him every year to send either a fleet or army to strengthen and support the few Mussulman towns remaining on the coast of Syria; and some short time before the period of which we now speak, an Egyptian armament had swept the sea shores of Palestine, and carried off an immense quantity of booty, and a number of Christian captives. In the beginning of the year I now speak of, Adel had collected a

considerable body of troops and directed them to march to Ascalon, under the command of his son-in-law, the Emir Abbas. With Abbas was his son, Nasreddin, and a friend named Assame, and between these three a conspiracy was formed during their progress towards Asia for deposing Adel and raising Abbas to power. Nasreddin was sent back into Egypt to communicate with the Khalif Diafer Billah, whose favour he had completely gained, and to obtain that prince's consent to the step which was about to be taken. Having succeeded in that part of his mission, Nasreddin proceeded to the palace of his grandfather, Adel, who, in fact, possessed the whole power in Egypt, and, without remorse, struck off the old man's head, which was sent, after being exposed some weeks to the gaze of the populace, to a curious repository which the khalifs of Egypt had instituted for the preservation of the skulls of those who had become burdensome in the service of the state, and which was called the "Treasury of Heads."* Abbas was then raised to the dignity of vizier, in place of his father-in-law, and took the name of Maleksaleh, or "the faithful king." He was not destined long, however, to possess the power which he had so wickedly obtained. Some reasons, into which it is not necessary here

* I was, at one time, inclined to believe that this term, "The Treasury of Heads," was merely an Oriental figure to express the grave; but, upon consideration of the exact words of Moccassar, I am compelled to render the words as I have done,

to enter, induced him to seek the destruction of the Khalif himself; and Nasreddin, again obedient to the commands of his father, murdered Diafer Billah, with the principal part of his attendants, in the course of an infamous visit which that monarch made to his house. His father, laying the crime to the charge of the monarch's two brothers, caused them shortly after to be beheaded in the presence of Diafer's son, a child whom he had immediately raised to the nominal command of Egypt. One of the eunuchs, however, who had accompanied Diafer to the house of Nasreddin escaped, and spread abroad a true account of the Khalif's assassination. The emirs of Egypt, who hated Abbas, now rose against him; and with a celebrated warrior of the name of Telai at their head, expelled him from Egypt. He fled, with his son, to Ascalon, which by this time, as we shall speedily show, had fallen into the hands of the Christians, by whom he was justly put to death; while Nasreddin, professing a desire to embrace Christianity, was detained for some time by the Templars, and at length given up into the hands of his enemy, Telai, who slew him with direful cruelty. The Templars, if we may believe the account of William of Tyre, received sixty thousand pieces of gold for affording this sanguinary pleasure to the new vizier.

Taking advantage of the first dissensions of Egypt, while Abbas was employing every unholy means to raise himself to the supreme authority,

the Christians laid siege to the city of Ascalon, and attacked it for some time without success. At length, however, everything bade fair to put it in their power, and a general attack was ordered. The ambitious covetousness of the Templars, however, induced them to take possession of the breach which had been effected in the walls, for the purpose of obtaining a larger share in the plunder of Ascalon, by keeping out the rest of the Christian army till they had swept the place of the wealth it was known to contain. Forty of the knights made their way into the town, while the rest remained to guard the entrance; but the inhabitants, who had been panic-struck by the sudden demolition of some of their principal defences, soon perceived the small number of the assailants who had entered, took courage, attacked them vigorously, slew the Grand Master of the Temple, and pursued those who were guarding the trenches to their very tents.*

Not long after this event, however, dissensions broke out amongst the people of Ascalon, and the union, which had been their safety, having come to an end, the defence became weak and inefficient. The king of Jerusalem and his knights renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever; and the wood of the Holy Cross, which was supposed to

* It is Ibn Alatir who mentions the fact of the garrison having made a sortie and pursued the Christians to their tents.

have been found at Jerusalem, was borne before them to the assault, giving them the assurance of victory. Although they were not successful in penetrating into the town before night, the progress they had made was so great, and the number of slain on the part of the garrison so tremendous, that the citizens determined to surrender, on condition of being permitted to quit the town with their baggage. Three days were allowed by the capitulation for the inhabitants of Ascalon to evacuate the place, but such was their fear of the Christians in their neighbourhood, that ere two days were over they had completed their preparations, and were conducted with honour to a spot where they considered themselves in safety.*

For some time after the fall of Ascalon the kingdom of Jerusalem enjoyed a higher degree of tranquillity and prosperity than had been its lot for many years. The internal troubles in Egypt did not cease with the death of Abbas; and Noureddin was occupied in the North pursuing that plan of self-aggrandizement which, although the expulsion of the Christians from Asia was certainly one of his great purposes, affected the territories of the Mussulman princes in his neighbourhood not less than those of the Franks themselves. One

* The account given by William of Tyre is confirmed in almost all the material points by the Arabian historians. I have blended in the narrative the statements of Ibn Alatir and Abouyali with that of William of Tyre.

of the great objects of Noureddin's ambition was the addition of the city of Damascus, and the district surrounding it, to the extensive dominions which he already possessed. That city was looked upon in those days as the capital of Syria, and was governed by an emir who had shewn some weakness in his conduct towards the Christians—even paying them tribute and suffering them to reclaim any Christian captives who might be found in the slave-market of the town. The feelings of the religious enthusiast, therefore, as well as those of the ambitious conqueror, were aroused in the breast of Noureddin, prompting him to wrest it from its possessor. Damascus, however, lay so near to the Christian territory in Palestine, that the Prince of Aleppo might well fear that a direct attack on his part would induce its sovereign to throw open his gates to the Franks. He determined therefore to effect by cunning what he dared not attempt by force; and on this, as on several other occasions, he showed a barbarous disregard for truth and honesty, which harmonizes but little with the flattering picture which many modern historians* have thought fit to draw of the Mussulman princes, when compared with the Christian invaders of the Holy Land. Noureddin's first effort during the years

* Monsieur Guizot in speaking of Bernard, the treasurer, says: "En aucune autre chronique peut-être, la supériorité de civilisation et de générosité des Mussulmans sur les Occidentaux ne s'y fait si bien sentir."

1154 and 1155 was to cultivate the friendship of the Emir of Damascus, and to gain the full confidence of the man he proposed to destroy. He also ingratiated himself with the various nobles of that principality, and allured the most powerful and talented of them to make him proposals for delivering the city into his hands. As soon as this was done, he betrayed them to their sovereign, who swept them away, one by one. In the end, when, by these arts, he had left the Prince of Damascus without any support amongst his great men, and had by other means as insidious, gained the people and the military, he advanced towards the object of his cupidity with a large army, and marched so rapidly that the King of Jerusalem, whom the emir had by this time called to his aid, found the forces of Aleppo in possession of the city. The emir, indeed, fortified himself in the citadel; but he was soon induced to yield it on the promise of receiving the principality of Emessa; of which place he was ere long stripped by the faithless Noureddin, and was ultimately sent as an exile to Bagdad. These facts are told by one of the Attabec's most ardent panegyrists; and yet surely such acts are but those of a cunning and unscrupulous barbarian. I shall have more events of the same kind to record ere long, which must divest the character of Noureddin of every semblance of civilization.

On the fall of Ascalon, it would appear a tribute had been promised by Egypt to the Christian

36814

princes of the Holy Land,* and a treaty of peace was concluded about that time, or shortly after, between the Khalif and the King of Jerusalem. The particulars of this transaction are very obscure, but, nevertheless, the principal facts are referred to by all the Arabian historians. In 1157, however, the Egyptians accused the Franks of some breach of the treaty, and the war recommenced on both sides with great fury. An Egyptian fleet ravaged the coast of Gaza, and in the following year, an army marched across the desert to attack the Holy Land. At the same time, Noureddin renewed his efforts towards the east of Palestine, routed a large body of the Knights of the Hospital, and attacked the city of Paneas. The approach of the King of Jerusalem forced him to raise the siege; but Baldwin suffered himself to be deceived by a feigned retreat, dismissed the greater part of his troops, was attacked in an irregular march from Paneas by the whole forces of Noureddin, and totally defeated, escaping from the lost battle only by the swiftness of his horse. Surrounded by the enemy, and panic-stricken by the sudden and unexpected attack, the Christian knights for once forgot their renown, and multitudes of them surrendered after a very slight resistance. A number were killed, however, in the first onset, and Noureddin returned with his

* See Mills, vol. ii.

prisoners in triumph to Damascus. The procession with which he entered the gates of that city is described by one of his biographers in the work called the "Two Gardens;" and certainly we can find no traces of his boasted civilization here. The foot soldiers of the Christian army were marched in, bound together four and four, and three and three. The men at arms were mounted on their horses, and covered with their helmets and coats of mail; but the most celebrated knights, selected from the rest, appeared two and two, tied upon camels, and each pair forced to bear a standard, from which hung the bloody scalps of their friends and companions who had fallen upon the field of battle.

There can be but little doubt that the talented but barbarous prince of Aleppo had his eye at this time upon the throne of Egypt, and he maintained with the vizier of the khalif a constant communication, from which he derived considerable pecuniary assistance. Still his principal object was the destruction of the Christian power in the east, and for the accomplishment of this purpose he called in the aid of religious enthusiasm, denominating his efforts to recover Palestine from the Franks "the sacred war,"*

* The work which first raised the reputation of Bohaeddin to the high pitch to which it attained in Syria under the reign of Saladin had for its title "The Sacred War," and was little else than a vigorous and vehement exhortation to his fellow Mussulmans to extirpate every other religion than that of Mahommed.

and summoning all his people to aid him in establishing the faith of Mahommed. Shortly after his victory at Paneas, however, on his return, it would seem, from an ineffectual attack upon the city of Nepa, Noureddin was seized by a malady which threatened to cut him off suddenly in the career of glory. His army fell into disorder, and he himself, unable to sit his horse, was borne back to Damascus in a litter.

Had the Christians, at that moment, been in a state to attack the territories of their enemy with promptitude and decision, they might have regained all that the Attabec had taken from them; but the great losses they had lately sustained had weakened them so much that they were forced to ask the aid of some Armenian princes, and then only succeeded in capturing the town of Schaizar and the fortress of Harem.

In the meanwhile, the illness of Noureddin grew more severe, and no hope was entertained of his life. His brother, Nasret-eddin immediately advanced to seize upon Aleppo; and all the principal emirs who had shared his fortunes, and contributed to his success, now prepared to divide amongst them those vast dominions which he had endeavoured to consolidate. Two of the principal chiefs who had served under the great Attabec, were brothers of a Curdish family, named Schircou and Ayoub; the latter had been entrusted by Noureddin with the government of Damascus, and was a man of great skill and penetration. Schircou, on the

contrary, was, it would appear, at the head of a large body of Noureddin's troops, and the most powerful of his generals. Thus situated, without loss of time, the latter repaired to Damascus, not doubting to obtain his brother's assistance in making himself master of Syria. Ayoub, however, judged more wisely; he represented to Schircou that there was still a chance of Noureddin's recovery, advised him to hasten to Aleppo, and defend it against Nasret-eddin, in the name of Noureddin, and promised, if the monarch did die, to open the gates of Damascus to him, and seat him on the Syrian throne. Schircou saw the wisdom of advice, which, instead of one solitary principality, offered the prospect of uniting Damascus and Aleppo under his own rule, and he hastened to follow the counsel of his brother. Noureddin recovered; Nasret-eddin was forced to flee from his indignation; and Schircou, with his services apparent and his treason undiscovered, received the thanks of his master for preserving Aleppo. The favour of the Attabec monarch now showered honours and distinctions upon the house of Ayoub; and his son, Salah-eddin, known to the European world under the name of Saladin, by which I shall henceforth designate him, was called unwillingly from a life of luxurious sloth, to take a prominent part in the great revolutions of the East.

The war continued without interruption between Noureddin and the King of Jerusalem, and success hovered alternately over the banners of either host. On the fourteenth of July, 1159, fortune showed

itself favourable to the Christians, and compensated for the defeat at Paneas by giving Baldwin a decided victory over Noureddin and his general, Schircou, in the Tiberiad. But it is to be remarked that although the qualities of Noureddin and of Baldwin were certainly great, both as generals and as statesmen, yet neither of them possessed that comprehensive genius, which alone can conceive vast and well organized schemes, and pursue them through all their details with unity of purpose and undeviating continuity of effort. Indeed, through the whole wars to which the Christian occupation of Palestine gave rise, during the twelfth century, the effects of personal ambition and individual cupidity in frustrating great efforts, ruining mighty enterprises, and rendering genius itself of no avail, is lamentably apparent. We find striking instances in every page of the history of those times to prove that selfishness, merely contemptible in a humble individual, is, in the man endowed with vast powers, destructive not only of all around him, but of his own greatness, and subversive of his best schemes and most eager purposes. Both the monarchs whom we have seen opposed to each other suffered themselves to be turned aside continually by the prospect of some petty advantage from greater objects of endeavour, and we never find any victory, such as that which Baldwin gained in the Tiberiad, followed up with the energy which might have derived from it the greatest portion of advantage.

On the present occasion, nothing seems to have

been attempted afterwards, and Noureddin soon recovered from the check he had received.

An alliance which might have proved of the greatest benefit to the kingdom of Jerusalem, had any vigour been left in the Eastern empire, took place in the same year between Baldwin and a niece of the Emperor Manuel. That monarch himself, some short time afterwards, marched into Syria at the head of immense forces, showing with what ease, if he had thought fit, he might have guided the leaders of the second crusade on their way to Antioch. The object of his expedition, however, was not to aid the Christians of Jerusalem, or to depress the enemies of his faith. He had two purposes, but both of them were directed against princes of the same creed as himself. The first was to punish Regnault of Chatillon, Regent of Antioch, who had invaded the island of Cyprus; the other was to reduce to vassalage the Armenian prince, Thoron, who had risen to immense power during the struggles between the Franks and the Mussulmans.

The emperor was joined by Baldwin, almost immediately after his arrival, and at the intercession of the latter, Regnault was pardoned, and received into favour on making atonement; while Thoron gave up some of the places he had acquired, and acknowledging his feudal dependence on the Greek, was permitted to retain the rest.

Had the emperor been so disposed, when his vast

forces were congregated at Antioch, and the King of Jerusalem with a great number of his barons was present, he might have swept away the dangers which surrounded the Christian kingdom in Palestine, and established the throne of Baldwin, beyond the might of any Mussulman prince to shake it. Egypt was still occupied by the struggles of various ambitious men. Noureddin's power had been diminished both by the disorders which had taken place during his sickness, and by the loss of a great battle: his troops were scattered, his friends disheartened, and he, who had been barely able to oppose with success the Latin sovereign of Jerusalem, could never have resisted the efforts of that monarch, supported by the whole forces of the Greek empire. But Manuel did not choose to seize the golden opportunity. He advanced some way beyond Antioch, it is true; but Noureddin felt so forcibly the difficulties of his own situation, that he entered into negotiations with the emperor, and agreed to deliver up six thousand Frankish prisoners of the highest rank, who had remained in captivity since the battle of Paneas.* Manuel, very ready to be mollified, made no farther effort, and after spending some time at Antioch in pleasures and amusements, he retired from Syria, and returned to his own capital.†

* These noblemen were not all taken at that battle, for some of them had been prisoners even before.

† Not only as an elucidation of the manners of the times, but in justice to the Emperor Manuel, we must not omit a

The King of Jerusalem was not destined long to enjoy the happiness of domestic life. Shortly after the departure of the emperor, Regnault de Chatillon was captured by the Turks, and carried to Aleppo, and the Princess of Antioch applied to Baldwin for support and assistance during his captivity. Baldwin was at the moment engaged in a task somewhat difficult and unsatisfactory. Manuel was now a widower, without male heirs, and he proposed to marry either a princess of Antioch or of Tripoli, leaving the choice to Baldwin. The king, after much deliberation, fixed upon the Princess of Tripoli as the future bride of his wife's uncle; but the marriage was deferred by Manuel, under various pretences, and it is not improbable that he had himself seen the Princess of Antioch, and preferred her personal appearance, as well as the situation of the territories to which he might lay claim as her husband.

Baldwin was very much offended at the em-

trait which does honour to his character as a man, though it cannot remove the stains that rest upon him as a monarch. During a hunting expedition at Antioch, the horse of Baldwin fell with him, rolled over, and broke his arm. The emperor, who was at some distance, rode up, as soon as he was informed of the event, and dismounting from his horse, performed the part of surgeon with his own hands. He set the arm of his niece's husband, and not contented with that good office, continued to attend him till he was well, not suffering the bandages and cataplasms then in use to be applied or removed by any other person.

peror's conduct, and the Count of Tripoli was enraged and indignant; but the King of Jerusalem suffered himself to be appeased, and eventually aided in concluding the marriage between the emperor and the Antiochan princess. He had by this time proceeded to the city of Antioch itself, for the purpose of putting it in a state of defence against the Turks; but finding himself somewhat unwell, he was persuaded to take some remedies from a Jewish physician attached to the Count of Tripoli. From that moment his health entirely failed, and he proceeded first to Tripoli, and then to Berytus, in a dying state. At the latter city he died, not without suspicion of poison, amidst the universal mourning of his people, who, notwithstanding several errors, had loved him during life, and acknowledged, when he was no more, that no such monarch had filled the throne of Jerusalem since the days of Godfrey of Bouillon.

Baldwin left no children to ascend the throne; and after some intrigues, unworthy of notice here, his brother Almeric received the crown, and prepared to rival Baldwin in military activity. Like Baldwin, he was handsome in person, though more corpulent; but his disposition seems to have been less amiable than that of his brother, and, indeed, the picture of this prince which has been transmitted to us by his contemporaries is altogether less favourable than that of his predecessor. Nevertheless, his military talents must have been at least

equal to those of Baldwin, for his successes were greater against greater obstacles, and his plans are characterized by a degree of unity and perseverance which marks, in general, genius of a superior order. Nor was he at all wanting in valour and enterprise, but his character was stained by the vice of avarice, which frustrated many of his best schemes, and, perhaps, by its effect upon his historians, deprived him of the reputation which was justly his due.

Scarcely had Almeric succeeded to the throne, when motives arose for renewing the war between Palestine and Egypt. The infant khalif died in 1160, and a prince, scarcely out of his boyhood, was appointed by the vizier in his stead. This new sovereign was Aded-liden-allah, the last of the Fatimite khalifs; but his nomination was immediately succeeded by contentions between the vizier Schawer and a military adventurer of the name of Dargam. Schawer, was deprived of power in Egypt, and forced to flee, taking refuge for a time amongst a tribe of Arabs, to which he is said to have been allied by birth, and watching the course of events from a place of refuge in the desert. In the meantime, either by the orders of Dargam or Schawer—it is not very clear which—a tribute, which had long been paid to the Christians of Syria, was refused by the new dynasty,* and Almeric, eager to distinguish himself, called the other Christian

* Will. Tyr., lib. xix.

princes to his aid, and determined to force the Egyptians to perform the treaty which they had entered into with his brother. The army which he commanded was one of the largest that Palestine had brought into the field for many years; but Dargam, who had been through life a successful soldier, did not shrink from meeting the King of Jerusalem, and advanced towards the frontiers of Egypt, followed by a countless host. A battle took place in the end of August, 1162, and after a severe struggle, the Egyptian forces were completely routed, and Dargam himself fled to the city of Pelusium. As the intention of Almeric was evidently to push his conquest still farther, while the troops of Egypt, disheartened and dispersed, were in no condition to defend the territory of the khalif, Dargam, as a last resource, inundated the country, even at the risk of destroying the provisions of the people.*

Almeric retired to his own territories, but Schawer, who well knew that his rival had called upon himself the indignation of the whole body of the Egyptian emirs, of whom he had, shortly before, murdered no less than seventy at a banquet, hastened to the court of Noureddin, and besought his

* Many historians, contemporary and subsequent, omit all mention of this first expedition against Egypt; but the account of William of Tyre, who was at the very time archdeacon of Tyre and governor of Almeric's son, Baldwin the Leper, does not admit of a doubt upon the subject.

aid in recovering the authority of which he had been stripped. He offered one-third of the revenues of Egypt for assistance, which Noureddin was not at all disposed to refuse. The emir Schircou was dispatched, at the head of a large army, to reinstate the deposed vizier; and Dargam was encountered and killed, before the Christian army, which he had called to his support, could march to give him aid.* Schawer, however, proved ungrateful, or his Syrian friends were somewhat too exacting, and he, in turn, summoned the Franks to deliver him from the presence of Schircou.

Almeric, readily obeying his call, once more entered Egypt at the head of an imposing force, and after a number of skilful evolutions, which displayed greater generalship than is to be traced in any previous campaign throughout the whole history of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, he compelled the Syrian emir to quit the country, and then hastened back to oppose Noureddin himself, who had attacked the Christian dominions, in order to effect a diversion in favour of his army in Egypt.

* It has been very generally stated, that Saladin accompanied his uncle, Schircou, in this first expedition; but upon examining more closely the account of the Arabian writers, I find that such was not the case, and that Saladin did not leave Syria till the second Egyptian expedition of Schircou, in 1167. Ibnalatir distinctly states that Saladin was at the siege of Harem, in the principality of Antioch, which took place while Schircou was in Egypt.

During the campaigns in Syria of 1163 and 1164, the balance of success wavered, as usual, between the Turkish and Christian forces, and although the Attabec prince obtained several great advantages, he was surprised and defeated in the neighbourhood of Tripoli with such peril and loss that he narrowly escaped with life, and had the greatest difficulty in recruiting his forces. This victory, called the Battle of the Castle of the Curdes, is but slightly noticed by the Christian writers; but the Arabians dwell upon it largely, and speak of the reverses of their beloved leader so mournfully that it is evident the loss must have been severe indeed. It is more than probable that those who obtained this great success were not aware of its extent, for we cannot suppose that Gilbert de Lascy, the Knight Templar who appears to have commanded on this occasion, would have failed to profit by his advantage, if he had been aware of the total destruction of Noureddin's forces.*

While Noureddin and Almeric continued the war in Syria, during the three following years, the Emir Schircou, having rejoined his sovereign, urged him importunately to undertake the conquest of

* This great battle is placed by the Arabian writers in the year 553 of the Hejira, but as I do not find the day mentioned, we are left in doubt whether this was 1163 or 1164. William of Tyre, however, places it in 1164, and gives us to understand that it took place while Almeric was absent in Egypt. His account is very much like that of Ibn-alatir.

Egypt, and to suffer him to conduct the expedition against that country. Noureddin, however, saw ambition through the veil of zeal, and resisted the entreaties of his general for a considerable time, till at length, it would seem, the fear of appearing lukewarm in the cause of Islamism induced him to yield. Towards the end of the year 1166, the rumours which spread over the whole country, of immense preparations being made in Syria for the invasion of Egypt, gave notice both to the Franks of Palestine and to Schawer, the Vizier, or rather Sultan* of Egypt, of the designs entertained by the Attabec for the subjection of that country.

The interests of Almeric and Schawer were now evidently the same; the authority of the latter was the direct object of assault, but the very existence of the Franks in Palestine could not be considered as secure for one moment, unless the projected occupation of Egypt by the forces of Noureddin were prevented from taking place. Schawer consequently summoned at once the King of Jerusalem to his aid, and Almeric called all his forces to his standard, and set out without a moment's delay. The latter reached the city of Pelusium, or Belbeis, and effected his junction with the Egyptians, before Schircou could accomplish the longer march which he had to make; and the emir, proceeding by the deserts, and losing a number of men by the

* We find that the viziers of Egypt had adopted this title some time before.

way, found himself suddenly in the neighbourhood of a superior adverse force. After various manœuvres to escape from this unpleasant predicament, the Syrian emir endeavoured, by specious allurements, to bring over Schawer and the Egyptians to his own party. He made vast promises, and summoned the vizier, by his faith in Mahomet, to aid him in exterminating the Franks, engaging, at the same time, to quit Egypt as soon as this great act of Mussulman policy was accomplished. Schawer was too wise, however, to trust to so dangerous a guest, and Schircou soon heard that the vizier had shewn his letter to the Christians, and put the messenger to death.

The two armies were at this time encamped on the opposite banks of the Nile, but Schircou, who was evidently inferior in number to his adversaries, retreated before them, and Almeric, passing the river, pursued him with all speed. The Syrian forces were overtaken some short way beyond Hermopolis; and a battle being inevitable, the emir ranged his forces in order, giving the command of a large body to his nephew, Saladin, with orders to make a circuit, and attack the Christians in the rear, while he himself maintained the battle in front. The time occupied by the circuit taken by Saladin afforded the King of Jerusalem an opportunity of attacking Schircou while his forces were diminished. For some time the battle was favourable to Almeric; Schircou was driven back, and on the eve of a

total defeat, when the appearance of Saladin upon the field turned the fortunes of the day. Schircou rallied his battalion, Saladin charged the rear of the Christian army, and the day was still undecided when night fell and separated the combatants.* The Mahommedan writers claim a great victory for the Syrians, and adduce as a proof thereof, that the baggage of the enemy, and one of the principal leaders of Almeric's host, named Hugh of Cæsarea, fell into their hands. The Christians say that the result was doubtful, and it is certain that the whole of the allied army re-assembled, and on the follow-

* It will be seen that this account of the battle is totally different from that given by Mills, and by almost all other European writers. The cause of this difference is, that I have taken my account of the battle chiefly from Ibn-aboutai, who received the description which he gives from Edrisi, who was present. This ocular testimony thus transmitted to us, I conceive to be the best; but another reason for adopting it here, in preference to that of Ibn-alatir, is, that the statement of Edrisi is much more in harmony with that of William of Tyre than that of the other writer. Thus William of Tyre and Edrisi both state that Schircou was in the centre, and not on the left wing; that Schircou was on the eve of a complete defeat, that the recovery of the Syrian army was owing to the appearance of the corps commanded by Saladin, and that night fell before the battle was over. On all these points, Ibn-alatir differs from both; but their concurring testimony must surely outweigh his authority, especially as we find that after the battle, if either army displayed the appearance of flying from the other, it was that of Schircou, who, says the historian of the Attabecs, won the victory.

ing morning passed calmly, and in good order, through a valley between two divisions of the Syrian army, which did not venture to renew the battle. Almeric only retreated to the town of Lamonia, or Elmonia, said to be ten miles from the field of battle, and there remained for three days; while Schircou, on the contrary, hastened rapidly to Alexandria, apparently expecting to be attacked by the way.

The Christian army followed, and endeavoured to blockade the city, having refreshed and recruited itself at Cairo; and Schircou, finding that the provisions in Alexandria and its immediate neighbourhood could not support his whole army, left his nephew, Saladin, with a thousand men in the town, and by a masterly march opened a way into Upper Egypt. The movements of Schircou produced considerable alarm in the mind of Almeric for the safety of Cairo; and although he had made some progress towards reducing Alexandria by famine, the King of Jerusalem determined to march in pursuit of the Syrian commander. The inhabitants of Alexandria had supported Schircou zealously, but the idea of starvation alarmed them; and just as the Christian army was about to commence its second day's march in pursuit of the emir, one of the leading men of the city presented himself before Almeric, and promised to aid in expelling the troops of Saladin.* Schawer and the King of Jerusalem in-

* William of Tyre, lib. xix. The account of Ibn-aboutai does not materially differ from that of the Archbishop. He

stantly returned to the attack, and now employed all those means for battering the walls which were customary in that age. Saladin resisted with the greatest determination and gallantry, and for three months kept the enemy at bay; but the famine had become intense; the defences were shattered at various points; it was evident the city could not hold out much longer, and messengers from the young emir announced to his uncle, who was still in Upper Egypt, that Alexandria must speedily be surrendered if he did not march to its relief.

On receiving this intelligence, Schircou began to descend rapidly towards Alexandria, but, hopeless of making any impression upon the Christian and Egyptian army, which had lately been augmented by reinforcements from Palestine, he sent for his prisoner, Hugh of Cæsarea, and by his intervention proposed to Almeric a convention, in virtue of which Alexandria should be surrendered, an exchange of prisoners take place, and the Frankish and Syrian forces be allowed to quit Egypt, and march peaceably back to their several countries. Schircou represented, in eloquent language, the pressing

does not, indeed, mention that Almeric had commenced the siege before Schircou retired into Upper Egypt, or that any of the inhabitants of Alexandria took part with the Christians; but it is probable that even Edrisi, from whom he received his intelligence, though a companion of Saladin, did not know what passed without the walls, and in the Christian camp. For those facts I have relied on the Latin writers.

necessity which there existed for Almeric's return to Palestine, and that monarch himself was well aware that his presence in his own kingdom could not be much longer dispensed with.* The overtures for peace were favourably received by all parties; but Saladin demanded a complete amnesty from Schawer in favour of the inhabitants of Alexandria,† and this having been granted, peace was proclaimed, and the two armies prepared to put in execution the terms of the treaty.

Saladin seems to have been given as an honourable hostage for the good faith of the Mahommedans, and remained for some time in the Christian camp, treated with the highest distinction.‡ Schawer entered the town in triumph; and it would appear that, forgetful of the amnesty which had been promised, he was about to punish such of the inhabitants of Alexandria as had espoused the part of the Syrians, but Almeric at once interposed, and forced his ally to abide by the treaty.

The King of Jerusalem would seem even to have conceived a personal regard for Saladin, for we find that he furnished him with ships, to convey the sick and wounded of the young emir's army to Acre, promising them a secure passage through Palestine. At Acre, however, these invalids were seized upon by the commander in that city, and were ordered

* The account of what passed in the Syrian camp was given to William of Tyre by Hugh of Cæsarea himself.

† Ibn-aboutai. ‡ Will. Tyr.

by him to be employed as slaves in a sugar-press; but Almeric was moved with much indignation when he heard it, and he instantly caused the Mussulmans to be conveyed in safety to their own country. These acts of good faith and generosity are recorded by a Syrian,* although European writers of a later date, while striving with an illiberal liberality to raise the character of the Mahommedans at the expense of their fellow-Christians, have totally forgotten to mention many such acts, which throw a bright light into the scene where too many dark shadows are apparent on all sides.

Schircou and the Syrian forces returned unsuccessful from Egypt; and Almeric, with the Christian host, having succeeded in all that he had undertaken, having frustrated the two most famous generals of Noureddin, maintained Schawer in authority, and forced the enemy to evacuate the territory in dispute, re-trod his steps to Ascalon in the month of August, 1167, after the most scientific campaign which we have yet seen in the holy wars.

The struggles for Egypt, however, were not yet come to an end; Almeric had faithfully performed all his engagements to Schawer, and the vizier, or sultan, as we now find him called, had agreed to pay to the Frankish monarchs of Jerusalem, an annual sum of 100,000 pieces of gold. Probably at his request, also, a chosen body of Christian troops were

* Edrisi, who was himself one of the invalids thus conveyed back by Almeric to his own country.

left under his command in Cairo, and to their charge he entrusted the gates of the city. An officer, whose functions seem to have been something similar to those of a resident consul, was appointed by the King of Jerusalem to conduct his affairs in Egypt; and the greatest harmony, it would appear, existed between the two powers at the period of Almeric's return to Ascalon.*

Both Schircou, however, and the Latin King, still fixed their eyes upon the land they had just left with feelings of ambitious cupidity, which nothing but the subjection of that country could satisfy; and we find that shortly after the return of the latter, very pressing applications were made to him from two quarters, urging him strongly to undertake at once the conquest of Egypt. Almeric had not long enjoyed an interval of repose in Palestine, when secret envoys from the Emperor of the East proposed to him to unite the forces of Constantinople and Jerusalem in one great effort to overthrow the Fatimite rule on the banks of the Nile. The weakness of that country was pointed out to

* It is clear from the accounts of the Mussulman writers themselves that the treaty between Schircou and Almeric did not by any means stipulate that the king should withdraw his forces from Egypt; and the above facts, mentioned by Ibn-alatir, as well as that of its being the banner of Almeric which was first planted on the pharos of Alexandria, on the surrender of the city—an important fact in feudal times—clearly shew that the success of the campaign was entirely on the side of the allied Christian and Egyptian forces.

him, and the certainty that it must soon fall into the hands of Noureddin, if not seized upon by the Christians, was clearly demonstrated. It is proved that Almeric had so far forgotten his good faith as to agree to the designs of the emperor, and to send messengers for the arrangement of the whole plan, before Schawer had given him any cause for suspicion. Whether his treachery was discovered by the Egyptian prince, or whether the latter was but little behind the King in falsehood, I cannot tell; but rumours were speedily circulated of a frequent intercourse by couriers between Noureddin and Schawer. There can be but small doubt that these reports were true, and that such a communication really did take place; and Almeric eagerly seized upon the apparent bad faith of his ally to justify his own dishonest purpose. The solicitations of the eastern emperor were not the only temptations which beset the King of Jerusalem. Ever since his return, the grand master of the hospital, a brave, generous, unprincipled person, who had loaded himself, and the institution of which he was the head, with enormous debts, had urged the monarch to conquer Egypt, in the hope, we are told, of obtaining a share of the spoil. As soon as the expedition was determined, the hospitallers hurried forward all Almeric's measures; the Latin sovereign affected vast indignation at his late ally, the whole country was called to arms, and one of the largest forces

was collected which had ever yet issued forth from Palestine.

The Knights Templars, indeed, were not present at the array: jealousy of the Order of St. John is said to have mingled in their motives for absenting themselves; but they found a good excuse in the injustice of the war which Almeric was about to wage, and treating the pretence of Schawer's treachery with contempt, they declared that they would not draw the sword in so unrighteous a cause. Almeric, however, listened to no remonstrances, and in truth, the idea of the riches of Egypt seems to have been ever present to the imagination of that covetous sovereign, after he had once beheld them. It is clearly proved that in his former passage through the country, he had caused a curious statistical report to be made by his officers, of the produce and extent of every different district in Egypt which came under their notice; and we are assured by one of the Arabian historians, who never concealed any good trait in the character of Almeric, that to induce his knights and nobles to greater exertion, he had made a distribution of the territory amongst them before he set out upon the expedition.*

Whether in the first instance he was called by

* Ibn-aboutai. Ibn-alatir, on the contrary, declares that Almeric was opposed to the invasion of Egypt, but Ibn-aboutai is still confirmed by the Bishop of Tyre, who was one of the envoys from Almeric to the Greek emperor.

Schawer to Egypt or not, Noureddin did not suffer the Christian preparations to proceed unmarked; but in order to deceive the Syrian monarch, Almeric loudly gave out that his armament was destined for the attack of Emessa, and while on the march towards that place, he suddenly turned from his course, and advancing into Egypt, laid siege to Pelusium. It would seem that the King of Jerusalem had kept up some private correspondence with the Egyptian emirs, for no sooner had he entered the territory of the khalif than he was joined by several large bodies of Egyptians. Some fierce messages passed between him and the commander of Pelusium, who seemed determined to resist to the last; but the town was taken by storm at the end of a siege of three days, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Almeric, indeed, treated the prisoners which fell to his share with lenity and consideration; but his chiefs and the soldiery shewed less compassion, and many cruelties were perpetrated, which in the end had an evil effect upon his own enterprise.

In the meanwhile, pressing entreaties had been addressed to Noureddin by his late enemy, Schawer; and the Sovereign of Aleppo and Damascus hastened to dispatch into Egypt a large body of troops under Schircou and Saladin. Before the arrival of the Syrian army, however, the King of Jerusalem had approached Cairo, and commenced the siege of that city, which, we are assured, would have surren-

dered at once had not the inhabitants dreaded the fate of Pelusium. Old Cairo was burnt to the ground, and every preparation was made for the defence of the capital; but the troops of Noureddin did not appear, and the vizier, knowing well the ruling passion of Almeric, offered that monarch an immense sum if he would quit the Egyptian territory peaceably. The King of Jerusalem could not resist the proposal: a part of the ransom was given at once, and a short delay was demanded for the payment of the rest. The covetous sovereign thereupon retired to the distance of a mile from Cairo, and during a considerable time Schawer amused him by delays and promises, till at length the news of Schircou's march with a large Syrian force spread itself through the camp, and caused Almeric to retreat to Pelusium. There the real number of the adverse army was ascertained, and finding it impossible to keep the field against such a body, Almeric retired from Egypt in the commencement of the winter, with greater disgrace attending his arms than if he had lost ten pitched battles in the open field.

The events which took place in Egypt after the retreat of the King of Jerusalem, are in some degree obscure, the accounts of the Christians and of the Arabs being totally opposed. The former declare that Schawer rejoiced in his deliverance from the presence of Almeric, visited the Syrian camp every day, and placed the greatest confidence in Nour-

eddin's general. Some of the Arabians, on the contrary, assert that he was machinating the ruin of Schircou, when, as a measure of necessity, the emir determined unwillingly to destroy him. Certain it is, however, that Saladin was the immediate instrument of his fall. The consent of the khalif to the removal of his vizier was easily obtained; Saladin soon found an opportunity of seizing upon the unhappy Schawer, and, conveying him on foot to a tent, after some hesitation on the part of his uncle, the young Syrian struck off his head, it would seem, with his own hand. The moment this act was perpetrated, Schircou was invested with the dignity of vizier, and took the title of Malek-mansor, or the Invincible Sultan.*

The ambitious general did not enjoy his new dignity many days, having died between two and three months after the fall of Schawer. He had already distributed a part of the wealth and territory of Egypt amongst his followers; and his nephew, Saladin, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the preceding wars, was appointed vizier in his place, notwithstanding the intrigues of many of the Syrian emirs of greater experience and wealth than himself. The motives which guided the khalif

* The Arabian writers, though they differ as to the fact of Schircou's participation in the death of Schawer, Ibn-alatir representing him as opposed to that act, and Ibn-aboutai declaring that he was the first to propose his destruction, all agree that the khalif was most eager for the fall of his minister.

inthe selection of Saladin, have been very differently stated by various authors, Arabian and European. One declares that the Egyptian sovereign, seeking to resume the authority of which his predecessors had been deprived by their ministers, named the young emir on account of his total want of power and influence in the Syrian army. Another asserts that his abilities, his experience, and, above all, his decision of character, were his recommendations in the eyes of the khalif; and it would certainly seem that his military talents, his ambition, and his determined spirit, were already well known, both to the Syrians and Egyptians.

During a short period after Saladin's accession to power, it appeared to the eyes of most men that the authority of vizier had greatly decreased in his hands. He was known to be a lover of pleasure, supposed to be indolent by nature, and every one imagined that his harem would see more of him than the field. Nor was this impression removed by the resistance which he first offered to the dignity imposed upon him. As if overawed by the great destiny that awaited him, he refused, for a considerable length of time, to take possession of the high office which was offered, and even when he had accepted it, assumed no other title than that of lieutenant of Noureddin. In his letters to that monarch he employed the very humblest language, and Noureddin himself merely addressed him as the Emir Saladin, and usually directed his com-

mands to all the emirs of the army. Many of those officers, indeed, abandoned their young rival, and shewed a disposition to disobey his commands; but Saladin, without taking any harsh measures, speedily contrived to reunite the Syrian troops in one compact and efficient body. The immense wealth of Egypt was at his command; his generosity was wise and discriminating; and, casting aside at once all the errors of his youth, he assumed that severity towards himself, and affability towards others, which characterized him ever afterwards. The khalif, who for a time seemed to have resumed the power which his ancestors had suffered to escape from their hands, fell back again into nothingness; and the vizier, though still retaining the simple title of lieutenant, exercised the supreme sway in Egypt.

Noureddin did not see the elevation of his young officer without some alarm, which daily increased as the authority of Saladin extended; and the events which succeeded, the extraordinary talents which that emir displayed, and the growing ambition which was soon evident, all increased his anxiety, not only respecting Egypt, but also in regard to the future destinies of his own family and dominions. One of his historians,* indeed, asserts, that so firm was his conviction of Saladin's ambition, and of his vast talents, that before his death he bade his friends carry his son Ismael to Aleppo,

* Ibn-aboutai.

prophetically announcing that ere long that would be the only portion of all his dominions remaining to his child. During his life, however, he continued to treat Saladin merely as his own officer, till the resistance of the vizier of Egypt shewed him that the struggle for authority must no longer be delayed.

In the meanwhile, the Christians of Palestine were filled with apprehension at the successful invasion of Egypt by Schircou. Shut in between that country and the Asiatic territories of Noureddin, with the fleets of the Mussulmans covering the seas, and their armies attacking them by land, they saw that the most dangerous extension of the Mahommedan dominion had taken place which had occurred since the first crusade, and Almeric determined to call every friendly power to his aid, and to make one great effort to expel the Syrians from Egypt.

Various events combined to give him a bright prospect of success; the Emperor of Constantinople, according to promises he had before made, sent a formidable fleet to the coast of Palestine, and the King of Jerusalem received intimation, about the same time, that the Nubians and other negroes, who for many years had exercised great power in Egypt, possessing some of the first offices of the state, and holding one entire quarter of the city of Cairo, had been irritated and alarmed by the proceedings of Saladin, and were determined to effect his overthrow. Their number was so great as to

form a considerable army of itself; and the fleet* of the Emperor of the East consisted of 150 galleys, with two ranks of oars, sixty larger vessels fitted as transports, and twelve still larger vessels, for the purpose of conveying military stores and artillery. The situation of Saladin was now perilous in the extreme; fifty thousand negroes were ready to fall upon his rear the moment that he advanced against the Christians; and the whole forces of Palestine, feeling the necessity of a great effort, arrayed themselves under the banner of the king.

It was late in the year when the Christian army began its march from Ascalon; but before this fresh

* Mills, in his History of the Crusades, gives a false impression of the conduct of the emperor, saying that the people of Jerusalem "despatched ambassadors to the princes of the west, and to the Emperor of Constantinople. The tale of woe was heard in Europe with cold commiseration; but Manuel prepared a considerable navy for the succour of the Franks." This would lead one to believe that it was in answer to an embassy from Almeric, on the occasion of the Syrian occupation of Egypt, that Manuel sent this fleet; more especially as Mills never mentions the embassy which the emperor, the year before, had sent to Almeric, urging him to undertake the conquest of Egypt, and offering the assistance of his navy. Now it is possible that Almeric did send envoys to Constantinople, as well as to the Christian princes of the west of Europe; but the fleet had been promised long before, and was sent in fulfilment of that promise previous to any fresh application. The authority for these statements is William of Tyre, who was himself one of the envoys to the emperor in the year 1168, so that we can have no better information.

invasion of Egypt could take place, the aspect of affairs in that country had completely changed. The conspiracy of the negroes had been discovered to Saladin by the arrest of a messenger from their leader, the chief eunuch of the khalif's household, to the King of Jerusalem. The vizier concealed his knowledge of the secret till an opportunity presented itself for seizing upon the eunuch. This was not long ere it occurred; the negro was captured, his head struck off, and the lieutenant of Noureddin took possession of the palace, and put all his enemies therein to the sword. The rest of the negroes immediately rose, to the number of fifty thousand men, and for some time the result of the struggle between them and Saladin was very doubtful. During several days the narrow streets of Cairo were the scene of a bloody and determined battle between the Syrians and the Nubians; and Saladin at length only succeeded in expelling the negroes from the city by the terrible expedient of setting fire to the quarter that they possessed. The flames drove them across the Nile, after which another battle took place, and ended in the utter destruction of the revolted Nubians.

The army of the Christians, however, aided by the fleet of the emperor, was quite sufficiently strong to have enabled Almeric to carry on his operations against Saladin with every chance of success; but the result of his measures was not such as might have been expected. The first effort of the Chris-

tian army was directed against Damietta, but from the very first commencement of the siege, a sluggish inactivity was apparent in some of the principal leaders, which was generally, and apparently not without reason, attributed to treason in the camp. No such want of energy appeared on the part of Saladin. The moment the object of the Franks became evident, he threw supplies into Damietta, prepared to march himself to its assistance, and sent messengers to Noureddin, beseeching aid. Noureddin, on his part, dispatched fresh troops to aid the garrison of Damietta, and instantly invaded the Christian territories, to create a diversion in favour of his troops in Egypt. In the meantime, the climate seemed to co-operate with the enemies of the Franks; the rain came down in torrents, and a strong wind blowing from the south, carried down the fireships of the Syrians against the Greek fleet. Many of the vessels were destroyed in this manner, and at the same time provisions of all kinds found their way into the city. A negotiation ensued at the end of fifty days' siege, and a convention was entered into, the only advantage derived from which by the Christians was the liberty to retire unmolested, though unsuccessful.

The ravages which Noureddin had committed in Palestine during the absence of Almeric were very great; and his invasion would probably have had more fatal effects still, had not one of the most terrible earthquakes that ever took place in Syria

recalled him to his own dominions to support and provide for his people under the disasters which it occasioned. The Syrian domination in Egypt was now fully established, and Saladin, in the double capacity of vizier to the khalif, and lieutenant to Noureddin, carried his excursions to the frontiers of the Christian kingdom, and ravaged the territories of Ascalon and Gaza. The Fatimite khalifs, however, and the Egyptian people who followed their faith, were considered, as I have said, in the light of heretics by Noureddin and his orthodox lieutenant, and the Syrians judged that a proper time had arrived for putting an end to the schism in the Mussulman religion. The Attabec, therefore, without much decent delay, commanded the young vizier to depose the khalif, and to change the public prayers which were offered weekly in the mosques on behalf of Aded. Saladin, it would appear, hesitated for some time, but at length, choosing a moment when the khalif of Egypt was ill, he caused his name to be omitted in the ordinary prayer, and that of the Khalif of Bagdad to be substituted in its place. This measure was first put in force in the mosques of the capital, but as the people submitted quietly to the change, it was soon extended to the whole country. A few days afterwards, the unfortunate Khalif Aded died, and the dominion of the Fatimites was at an end.

In regard to the death of Aded, there will ever remain a doubt upon the minds of men, for we have

no means of solving the question, whether it was produced by violent or natural causes. The Christians have asserted that Saladin slew him with his own hand; but not one of the Mussulman authorities countenance this statement, and it is not probable that they would have concealed a fact which many of the bigoted followers of Abbas would have thought honourable to the character of the vizier. The Khalif of Bagdad was as highly gratified by the fall of his rival as if he had obtained some power by the deposition of Aded; but Noureddin, on his part, was unwilling that the whole benefits of so great a revolution should fall to the share of his lieutenant, and he took steps without delay to secure for himself the sovereignty of Egypt. The communication between the Mussulman territories in Syria and in Africa had been both difficult and dangerous, since the Christians had been in possession of Palestine. No way existed for the armies of Noureddin to pass into Egypt, except through the deserts of Arabia, where his line of march was rendered doubly unsafe by the proximity of several Christian fortresses; and he now determined to open for himself a path which might connect the two great portions of his dominions, and also enable him to check the ambition of his lieutenant at any time that he should think fit.

Saladin had already taken possession of Ela on the Red Sea, and, shortly after the death of Aded, Noureddin summoned him to aid in the capture of

Carac and Schaubec, two strong places to the east and to the south of the great lake Asphaltites. While Noureddin advanced on his side, Saladin, according to the orders he had received, attacked Schaubec, and reduced it to such a state that the garrison promised to surrender if it were not succoured within ten days. The Christians, however, in the mean time, represented to the young commander that if he aided Noureddin in making a road into Egypt, it would be for his destruction, not for theirs, that the Attabec would come; and Saladin, perceiving clearly the justice of their reasoning, retreated to Cairo without waiting for the arrival of Noureddin, but excusing himself on the plea of the discontent and threatening aspect of the Egyptian people.

Noureddin, we are told, saw through the thin veil with which his lieutenant covered his designs, and threatened loudly to march at once into Egypt. On the other hand, Saladin became alarmed, and called his chiefs around him to deliberate upon the question of resistance; but his father, Ayoub, who had now joined him, checked the impetuosity of the young leader, and by his advice, a letter, in the most humble and submissive terms, having been written to Noureddin, the storm was turned away for the time. In the course of 1173, Noureddin determined to renew his attack upon Carac and Schaubec, and once more commanded Saladin to co-operate with him. The difficulties which had

hitherto frustrated all efforts to carry on rapid and regular communication between one part of the Attabec empire and another were, about this period, obviated by one of the most singular establishments recorded in history. The use of carrier pigeons had long been known in the East, but in the year 1172, Noureddin established a regular post by means of these winged messengers, having chiefly in view, it would appear, to receive and transmit intelligence from and to Saladin.*

All the plans having been arranged for a combined campaign, the young emir left behind him his father Ayoub to govern Egypt during his absence, and set out to attack the fortress of Carac, as he had been commanded. Not long after his arrival under the walls of the fortress, the army of Noureddin, triumphing over all obstacles, was announced to be approaching rapidly, and his lieutenant was again seized with apprehension, perhaps from a knowledge that he had not been particularly faithful to the service of the Attabec. We are told, indeed, by the Arabian historians, that Saladin feared only to find himself obliged to obey where he had been accustomed to command; but whatever was his motive, an accident which befel his father in Egypt, gave him a pretext for avoiding that interview with Noureddin which a few days' delay under

* Ibn-alatir states that this pigeon-post was established throughout the whole of the Attabec's dominions, principally with a view to check the continual incursions of the Christians.

the walls of Carac must have brought about. He retreated, then, before the arrival of the Syrian monarch, assuring his sovereign, with every expression of deference and respect, that the sole cause of this strange proceeding was, the fear lest Egypt, which had been left entirely under the government of Ayoub, should fall in a state of anarchy and confusion in case of the death of the old emir.

Though not deceived, Noureddin dissembled his resentment; and Ayoub dying within a few days, in consequence of the fall which had caused his illness, the Attabec discreetly observed that Saladin was quite right, as the preservation of Egypt was of much greater importance than the acquisition of a few frontier cities.

Noureddin was only apparently satisfied, but it was some time ere he could put his Syrian dominions in such a state as to justify him in contending openly with Saladin, especially as a new treaty had been concluded between the Christians of Palestine and the Greek emperor, during a visit which Almeric made to Constantinople in the year 1171, and as rumours of a new crusade were very general in the East. In the meanwhile, Saladin, in order to acquire for himself an independent territory, distinct from that which he had won in the service of Noureddin, turned his arms against Nubia and Arabia Felix, and reduced the whole of those wide districts to subjection. His successes only roused more and more the jealous suspicions of his sovereign;

and, in the year 1174, Noureddin, laying aside all other considerations, determined to invade Egypt, and wrest the power from his lieutenant's hands. To secure his own territories, as far as possible, from the efforts of the Christians during his absence, he called his nephew, Saifeddin, from Moussoul, to occupy the districts which he was about to leave without other protection. Money, arms, and men, were procured from every quarter, in order to render resistance on the part of Saladin hopeless; and a strife seemed about to commence which, had it been destined to take place, might have averted from Palestine for many years the fate that very soon befel it.

But in the midst of his vast preparations, Noureddin was seized with a severe sickness; and either from rash confidence in his own strength of constitution, or from the fear of exciting once more the same turbulent emotion which had followed his former fit of illness, he concealed his situation till nature could endure no more. A physician was then sent for, and found the sultan shut up in the small heated apartment to which he usually retired to say his prayers. On investigating the case, the physician discovered that his patient was nearly suffocated by a quinsy; and orders were immediately given for his removal to more open air; but before this could be effected, Noureddin expired. He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and left behind him the character of the greatest general and the wisest

monarch who had ever contended with the Christians in Palestine. His cunning and his cruelty when displayed towards the enemies of his faith, were overlooked by his fellow Mussulmans, who found plenty of precepts to excuse or justify such qualities in the law to which they were devoted; but those who strove to hold him up, as in every respect the purest and most zealous follower of their prophet, were somewhat puzzled to reconcile that personal ambition which sometimes trampled on the rights and overthrew the thrones of his brethren, with the humility, moderation, and devotedness which became the Mahommedan zealot. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that he was usually generous and confiding; and though he met with many checks and reverses, he was never cast down in adversity, or elated in prosperity. He abolished torture, rendered equal justice amongst his subjects, and to gentle laws added a mild administration.

In person, he was tall, and more powerful than his father, Zengui, with a scanty beard, but a handsome countenance, and an expression of great mildness. In domestic life, he was remarkably moderate and self-denying, and affected, above all things, to seek the glory of God and the extension of the Mahommedan religion.

Whatever satisfaction the death of Noureddin might afford to the Christians of Palestine, any advantage they might thence derive was more than counterbalanced by the loss of Almeric, which took

place in consequence of a fever contracted before the city of Paneas, in the month of July, 1173 or 1174.*

On succeeding to the throne of Jerusalem, that monarch had divorced his first wife, Agnes de Courtnay, on one of those pretences of relationship which were rarely wanting when any monarch of that age wished to break asunder the conjugal bond; but, by the same act which separated him from his former consort, it was declared that his children by the marriage were to be considered legitimate. Under these circumstances, his son, Baldwin IV., assumed the crown of Jerusalem, although in his blood appeared the terrible taint which the Christians of Europe had acquired in the Holy Land, and which is known to us under the name of "The Leprosy of the Greeks."

The leper monarch was amiable in disposition, active and energetic in mind; but even at the period when he ascended the throne, the dreadful disease with which he was afflicted had made great inroads on his constitution, and from that moment it proceeded with fearful rapidity. He was at the time

* There is some slight doubt as to the dates of the death of Noureddin and of Almeric; but it is probable that the latter event is antedated by a year. It is certain, indeed, that Noureddin, according to the Arabic account, died on the 15th of May, 1174, and yet William of Tyre, who represents Almeric as surviving him, places the date of the latter prince's death in 1173.

of his accession thirteen years of age; and notwithstanding his illness and his youth, he was celebrated for his skill in managing a horse and performing all military exercises. In person he was remarkably handsome, except where the leprosy appeared; but a considerable part of his frame was rigid and insensible from the effects of his fatal malady.

Scarcely had he mounted the throne, when dissensions took place between the Count of Tripoli and Milon di Planci, the favourite of the king, and seneschal of the kingdom, but the death of the latter terminated the contest, and the Count was named regent of the kingdom. His talents and his experience, his valour, his skill in war, and his knowledge of the Mussulman character, all seemed to promise success to his administration; but Saladin was by this time in the field, and all was destined to succumb before the genius of that most extraordinary man.

The operations of Saladin, whatever might be the general plan he laid out for himself, were for some time impeded by the discovery of a new plot against him, which extended to both Upper and Lower Egypt, and comprised many of the most important persons in the state. The conspirators not only called upon the Franks of Syria for aid, but also opened a communication with William the Second, King of Syria, who promised to send to their aid a fleet and army. Dissensions, however, took place

amongst the members of the confederation; a preacher of Cairo named Zineddin, revealed the plot to Saladin; and the principal conspirators were arrested, and put to the cruel death of crucifixion.

In Upper Egypt an insurrection, connected apparently with the conspiracy thus defeated, actually broke out, and the brother of Saladin, Malak-adel, was despatched against the rebels with an armed force. Here also much barbarous cruelty was shewn in the punishment of offenders; and at length, by the employment of such severe means, order was restored. In the meanwhile, the Sicilian fleet approached Alexandria, landed a large body of troops which it contained, and aided in forming the blockade of the city. But the inhabitants themselves, supported by the emirs of the neighbouring country, made so gallant a defence, that before Saladin could arrive, they had defeated the Sicilian armament,* and forced it to retire with terrible loss.

The Christians of Palestine about the same time invaded the territories of Damascus, and attacked the city of Paneas. The greatest disorder reigned amongst the emirs of Noureddin; no force could be raised sufficient to meet the Frankish army, and the only resource of such of the Syrian princes as remained faithful to their master's son was to con-

* Besides the Sicilian forces, the maritime cities of Italy, Venice, Genoa, and even Pisa, had sent men and galleys to the attack of Alexandria.—See a letter of Saladin's reported by Abouschame.

clude a treaty of peace with the King of Jerusalem, offering him a large sum of money as the price of his retreat, and threatening if he did not immediately retire to call Saifeddin to their aid, the Sultan of Moussoul. At the same time, they declared that they would likewise apply to Saladin; but the counsellors of the king accepted the conditions offered, which we shall not pause to detail in full, and a treaty of peace was concluded, which, it must be remarked, as far as it concerned the Christians, referred only to the kingdom of Jerusalem, but neither to Antioch nor Tripoli.

With this treaty Saladin affected to be highly indignant; and while the spirit of disorder and peculation took possession of the court of Ismael Malek Saleh, the young successor of Noureddin, his father's general marched rapidly forward to Damascus, declaring that he himself would make head against the enemies of the faith. Some of the Syrian emirs had undoubtedly called for his assistance; Saifeddin had seized upon all the territories of Noureddin on the other side of the Euphrates; insubordination was at its height in Syria, and Ismael had already retired to Aleppo when Saladin entered his territories. The latter, however, still continued to declare that his object was not to strip his master's son of his dominions, but to deliver him from the oppression of his nobles, and to restore him to his full authority. Nevertheless, Saladin took possession of Damascus, which was yielded to him

readily, and then proceeded to reduce Balbec, Hameth, Cesarea, and the other towns in Cœlosyria being held at bay for a time by the citadel of Emessa. His movements now evidently threatened Aleppo itself, and the Count of Tripoli, with a just view of policy, determined to aid the friends of Ismael in checking the progress of the invader. He rightly considered that the treaty of peace lately concluded did not bind him from acting against Saladin, who had himself declared, in a furious manifesto addressed to the emirs of Syria, that it only affected the sovereign of Aleppo and Damascus.

The count, therefore, advanced with the forces of Jerusalem, and encamped in such a situation that he could easily succour either Aleppo or the citadel of Emessa, which still held out. The solicitations and promises of the garrison of the latter place soon induced him to march towards it; but the discovery of some double dealing, and probably the fear of treachery, caused him to retrace his steps, and Emessa was left to its fate. He still hung upon the borders of Noureddin's kingdoms, however, and watched the proceedings of his great adversary.

About the same time, tidings reached Saladin that Saifeddin was marching with an immense force to attack him, and he saw the necessity of instantly choosing his line of conduct and acting upon it, so as to permit of no communication between the two enemies who stood in the path of his ambition.

With the Christians he thought he might suspend the struggle which was ultimately to take place; with Saifeddin, he knew the dispute must be determined immediately, and by the sword; and, without attempting to treat with the Count of Tripoli at a moment when the danger in which he was placed must necessarily render the conditions of peace oppressive, he marched at once against Saifeddin, encountered him in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and defeated him with a terrible slaughter.* Saladin then returned towards Emessa, where the tidings of his great victory had preceded him; and he found the Count of Tripoli, who had wasted the time of action in fatal inactivity, willing to listen to terms of accommodation.

Many noble princes from amongst the Christians had been captured at different times, and had afterwards been liberated on giving hostages for the payment of immense ransoms. These hostages had fallen into the hands of Saladin on the capture of the various towns in Syria; and he now shewed how little he had been really actuated by zeal for the Moslem faith when he condemned the treaty between Ismael and Baldwin, by offering to give them up without any ransom, on the condition of the Christians entering into a truce with him, and

* The account of William of Tyre is more complete in regard to these events than that of any of the Arabian historians which I have met with, and in all points of any importance his statement is confirmed by theirs.

suffering him to pursue his ambitious views upon the empire of Noureddin. The negotiation was speedily concluded; Humphrey of Thoron conducted the discussions on the part of the Christians, and incurred much blame for the facility with which he acceded to Saladin's proposals. The hostages were discharged, and Saladin took care to send splendid gifts to the various leaders of the Frankish host. The forces of the Count of Tripoli retired within their own frontier, and Saladin was left to follow out his designs against the son of his benefactor.

That unfortunate prince, now totally unsupported, saw himself menaced in Aleppo by a strong and victorious army, and was glad to enter into a treaty with Saladin, by which it was agreed that each should retain that which he already possessed. By this convention Saladin was confirmed in the absolute rule of Egypt and the greater part of Syria, with vast tracts lying to the south and east, the boundaries of which it might be difficult to define.

He now took the title of Sultan for the first time, but had very nearly perished in the outset of his ambitious career. While his army was before the walls of Aleppo, Saladin was more than once in extreme peril from the daggers of the Batenians, or Assassins, a sect who pursued their object with a degree of pertinacity and determination which has too seldom accompanied the performance of better deeds. On one occasion, while attacking the small

fortress of Ezaz, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, three of these men assailed the great Syrian leader, one after another, a fresh assailant springing upon him as soon as the one who preceded was slain. The sultan escaped, though with a severe wound in the cheek; and pursuing his victorious course, he speedily reduced all those places which ventured to hold out after his treaty with Malek Saleh.

But a few months were suffered to elapse, ere war recommenced between the Sultan and the Christians, and it is evident from the account of William of Tyre that the King of Jerusalem was the first to take up arms. I find no reason whatsoever assigned for the apparent injustice of this conduct; and the account given of Baldwin's motives by William of Tyre is altogether vague and unsatisfactory. He merely states that the king, understanding the territory of Damascus had been left in an exposed state, collected his army, invaded and pillaged it; and I am consequently led to believe that nothing further than a temporary suspension of hostilities was covenanted by the treaty of Emessa. Saladin, we are told, was at this time occupied at Aleppo; and during the autumn of the same year, the Christian forces once more entered the Mussulman territory, encountered the sultan's brother, who had remained in command at Damascus, and totally defeated him.

Notwithstanding these successes, however, no eye could fail to see that dark clouds, portending a

coming storm, were gathering round the kingdom of Jerusalem. The power of Saladin was extending on every side, and in all his dominions his authority was becoming more and more solid and immovable each day. His cunning policy, as well as his valour and military skill, his unscrupulous ambition, as well as his daring decision of character, overawed all around him. The neighbouring princes of his own faith looked up to him with apprehension, and dreamt not of assailing any part of his territories. All were eager to see him turn his arms against the enemies of their common faith, and the expectation of great events in Palestine was universal, both in the Eastern and the Western world.

In the year 1176, an event which occurred in Asia Minor changed expectation into alarm, though it did not absolutely affect the kingdom of Jerusalem. Manuel, the Emperor of Constantinople, having marched against the Turks of Iconium, was encountered by Kilig Arslan II., in the neighbourhood of that city, and totally defeated. Consternation spread throughout Europe at the news; and the prelates and clergy, both of Palestine and Europe, renewed all their efforts to induce the monarchs of the West to undertake one more grand expedition for the deliverance of Palestine from the impending dangers. Such was the state of the warfare in the East in the year 1176, and such was the aspect of all things when Henry the Second of England and Louis of France pledged themselves to take the cross, at the conferences of Ivry.

The digression which has been here made, although extremely long, has not been unnecessary, for there is scarcely one even of the minute points whereof I have treated in this account of the Crusades, to which I may not have occasion to refer in the pages that follow. It was requisite, then, to give the reader a full and distinct notion of the situation in which Palestine was placed at the commencement of the reign of Richard the First; and even had I been permitted to take for granted that the reader was acquainted with the previous accounts of the Crusades, I discovered, while making the necessary investigations for the composition of this work, so much new matter, which had never yet been told in the English language,* and perceived so many errors in what had been written, that I found it necessary to notice, even more minutely than I at first proposed, the details of those great and important transactions.

* In using this expression, I wish to imply no censure upon preceding writers, as, in the sketch of the Crusades which I myself gave some years ago, in a short history of Chivalry, much was necessarily omitted, from the brevity of the work, and a great portion of the matter which I have since collected was then unknown to me. Any one, also, who will cast their eyes over the second volume of Mr. Mills' History of the Crusades, will perceive that he has omitted almost all the important and interesting events which took place during the first part of the reign of Baldwin the Leper, which had an immediate connexion with the affairs of Europe at the time, and especially prepared the way for the third crusade under Richard.

By another strong consideration, also, I felt myself called upon to dwell at large upon the history of Palestine before the crusade of Richard; for the habits, manners, and characters, both of individuals and nations throughout all Europe, were materially affected by the extraordinary state of things in the East. The views, the purposes, the feelings, of the Christian world—nay, the very language itself, took a tone from the Crusades, and we find the idea of the Holy Land, and of an expedition to that country, continually mingling with the thoughts, conversations, and arrangements of private men, and the wars, negotiations, and treaties of princes.

BOOK IX.

It has been justly observed, that in the proposed expedition of Henry the Second and Louis of France to the Holy Land, the latter appeared as a voluntary crusader, the former as a banished criminal. The one was sincere in his purposes, zealous in the cause of Christian Palestine, and anxious to wipe out the memory of former loss and disgrace incurred in that country, by some splendid action performed in its behalf. The other was driven by the sentence of the court of Rome to repeat his promises of taking the cross, without any desire, and perhaps without any intention of fulfilling them. We must not, indeed, suppose that the King of England was free from the superstition of his age, or that he could divest his mind of the belief that the proposed expedition was in itself meritorious before God. One of Henry's first acts after his return to England in the year 1178, of which we now speak, was to visit the

shrine of Becket, in company with the Archbishop of Rheims, and he there performed his devotions with edifying piety and zeal. The king's next act was to knight his son Geoffrey, and send him over to hold tournaments in his duchy of Britanny, by no means an unnatural sequent to an act of superstitious penitence.

In the following year, a number of the English bishops were called to Rome for the purpose of assisting at a great council of the Lateran, where many very important decrees were announced; on which, however, I shall not dwell here, only noticing such of this council's proceedings as had an immediate reference to the King of England or his dominions.

One of the canons of the year 1179 was directed against an heretical sect which had sprung up in the county of Toulouse, the tenets of which have been confounded with those of the Waldenses, whether justly or unjustly, it may be unnecessary to investigate in this place.* I find them called Agenenses, Cathari, Patarini, and Publicans; and it would appear that they entertained many of the

* That this heresy arose exactly in the same districts which afterwards acquired a terrible renown from the crusade of De Montfort and the fate of the Albigenses, there can be no doubt, as the decrees of the Lateran, ann. 1179, point by name to Albi as the birth-place of the sect. That the principles were the same as those of the subsequent Albigenses, and were Manichæan, there is every reason to believe.

opinions of the Manichæans. They acknowledged two great principles, one of good and one of evil, held marriage to be unlawful and even damnable, and clung to various errors which would seem to have been originally derived from the Gnostics. Coupled with the heretics of Albi in the censures of this council, we find the Brabancois and other licentious troops, whom Henry the Second had been forced to employ during the contest with his sons, but had discharged as soon as the war was over. These ferocious soldiers, suddenly cast into idleness, had spread themselves throughout the country, pillaging wherever they came, and Alexander now preached a positive crusade against them, declaring it lawful to slay them in battle, or to reduce them to slavery when taken, and promising all the benefits and indulgences which were granted to those who engaged in the holy war to such persons as took arms against a body of men to whom he attributes the most atrocious crimes.

While Henry II. was enjoying in England a short period of repose, Prince Richard pursued his successful career in Aquitaine, reducing to obedience the revolted nobles of that territory, and meeting with no check in his military proceedings. Castle after castle, and town after town, fell before him; and such was the terror of his arms that the people of the country, in some cases, seized and imprisoned their leaders, rather than encounter their offended Prince. No one, during the whole

course of the war, made so determined a resistance to the authority of Richard, no one offered more insulting provocation, than the brave and celebrated Geoffrey de Rancun, who trusted not alone in his own valour, but in the courage and military habits of his people, and in the number of strong places which his territory contained. The most defensible of all these was the town and castle of Taillebourg, which formed a fortress so formidable that, we are assured, no one had hitherto ever attempted to take it by siege. The city was surrounded by triple ditches and triple walls, having numerous towers in the curtain, and being defended by a race of military citizens accustomed to consider themselves invincible. Above the town rose a citadel, not inferior in point of strength to the rest of the fortress, which, at the time when Richard determined to march against it, had been put in the most complete order for resisting an attack. All sorts of provisions and implements of war had been collected within its walls, and, to use the words of Diceto, the approach of the Prince alarmed the garrison but little.

Richard entered the territory of Geoffrey de Rancun in the beginning of May, excited to the highest pitch of fury by the bold rebellion of that lord. Nothing at first resisted him, and fire and sword consumed the country round ; till at length, advancing upon Taillebourg itself, he commenced the attack with his usual vigour and determination.

His engines were immediately placed to batter the walls, but so confident were the citizens in their own strength that a large body of the troops within, in scorn of his power, determined to issue forth and attempt to surprise him in his camp. Richard, however, was ready to receive them. He called his men instantly to arms, attacked the forces which had ventured beyond the walls, routed them completely, and giving them not a moment's pause, drove them, sword in hand, back into the town, and passed the gates with them at the head of his troops. Pursued hither and thither in every direction by a victorious enemy, only a small part made their escape and took refuge in the citadel; but the castle itself could not long hold out, and surrendered also on Ascension-day in the same year, 1178. Richard immediately levelled the walls of the fortress to the ground, and having spent another month in reducing various castles and towns in the vicinity, he saw the revolt crushed for the time by the submission of the Count of Angoulême.*

After closing the campaign with so much honour to himself, the warlike Prince returned to join his father, Henry, in England; but notwithstanding all the engagements which the British monarch had entered into, no farther steps were taken, either to solemnize Richard's marriage with Adelais, or to prepare for the proposed crusade. It is not impro-

* Diceto. Hoveden.

bable, indeed, that Henry looked forward to the prospect of being delivered, by the death of the King of France, from the urgent remonstrances of one who had a right to press for the execution of his engagements in both these respects, as the health of Louis had been materially impaired by many severe exertions, and he was in the seventieth year of his age.

The French monarch himself felt his strength daily declining, and, in 1179, determined to associate his son to the throne, for the purpose of ensuring that, in case either of his own departure for the Holy Land, or of his decease, no confusion of any kind might take place in the arrangements of the state. In conformity with this resolution, Louis summoned his court of peers, and with their consent made all the preparations for the coronation of the Prince. In the month of July, however, in the same year, an accident occurred which had very nearly terminated fatally for the hopes of France. The heir apparent of the crown and his father were at Compiegne, when Philip, having received permission to hunt in the neighbouring forest, was separated from his attendants, lost himself in the wood, and for many hours was wandering about in great terror. At length a charcoal-burner, returning from his work, found the royal child just as night was beginning to fall, and conveyed him to the palace. But hunger, fatigue, and terror, had so shaken the constitution of the prince, that he was

seized with a malignant fever, and in a very few days his life was despaired of.

His father, Louis, was full of grief and anxiety; but instead of staying to watch the sick bed of his son, he determined to apply for miraculous assistance at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was then, perhaps, the saint in most general repute throughout both France and England.* Several of his barons opposed his intention of venturing into the dominions of a powerful and inveterate enemy; but the king remained obstinate, and Henry justified the confidence which Louis placed in his honour and integrity. He hastened to meet and welcome the French monarch on his arrival in England, conducted him in person to the shrine of the martyr, and knelt with him before the tomb of that man who had been the cherished friend of the one and the malignant foe of the other.

The result of Louis's expedition was favourable to the fame of St. Thomas. It had been so happily timed, that the crisis of the young prince's disease

* The three great altars in Canterbury cathedral, were those of Christ, of the Virgin, and of St. Thomas à Becket; and it is proved, by the returns of the offerings received at each, that the altar of Christ itself was nearly abandoned—some years receiving nothing, in others only a few shillings—while an immense revenue was collected at the altar of the saint. Even the shrine of the Virgin suffered considerably from the proximity of the murdered bishop, which for a Roman-catholic country is very extraordinary.

occurred exactly at the moment when his father was praying in Canterbury cathedral. An immediate improvement took place in his health, and everybody attributed it to the king's influence with the canonized bishop.

The royal offering at the shrine of St. Thomas had been a magnificent cup of gold, and in gratitude for the alteration which had taken place, Louis added an annual donation of certain tuns of fine wine, which we may well suppose proved as agreeable to the monks as the chalice which he had at first given. The King of France returned without delay to his own territories, and on his arrival at Compiegne, found Philip so much better, that the coronation was fixed for All Saints' day in the same year; but before that period the old monarch, who had long been threatened with palsy, suddenly lost the use of his right side, and was thus prevented from witnessing the ceremony himself. He insisted, however, that the coronation should take place, and it was accordingly celebrated at Rheims on the day appointed. The younger Henry of England was present upon the occasion, and held the crown over the head of Philip Augustus. From the fact of his having done so, many conjectures have arisen, as to what part he did actually play in the coronation. Some writers assert that he appeared there merely as a guest, and that he raised the crown of the young king simply because Philip, greatly weakened by

his late illness, was unable to support the fatigue of bearing the heavy bauble through a long ceremony. Others, on the contrary, declare that he appeared there to perform his feudal service as Count of Anjou, and Seneschal; while some would fain extend the act that he performed to some recognition of fealty in the English crown to that of France;* but it seems very generally agreed by all men that it would have been much better, in every point of view, had the English prince been absent altogether.

On his return from his coronation, Philip found

* A gentleman of the name of Capefigue has lately published a history of Philip Augustus, which has been, what he calls, crowned by the Institute; and in which, he says, without entering into any absurd pretensions of the crown of France over the crown of England, that Henry the Second himself was present at the coronation of Philip Augustus, and held the crown over his head, an error of the most extraordinary kind, which a very slight portion of study would have prevented him from committing. The fact of the younger Henry being present at the coronation of his brother-in-law, evidently created alarm in the minds of the English people, lest it should be construed into any recognition of superiority on the part of France. The words in which Diceto mentions it are as follow:—"Henricus rex, Henrici regis Angliæ, filius, et Philippi regis Francorum sororius, regiæ consecratoni Remis interfuit, solius affinitatis incitatus et invitatus intuitu. Dum enim Britannia pœne nomen orbis alterius mereatur, dum divisos orbe Britannos frequenter audieris, restat ut et id audias, quod nullus Britanniæ vel Angliæ rex quempiam regem Francorum aliqua specie subjectionis, aliquo tempore superiorem agnoverit," etc.

his father fallen into such a state of mental and corporeal decrepitude, that no hope existed of his ever again being able to sway the sceptre of France; and the whole concerns of a mighty nation fell into the hands of a boy of fifteen, surrounded by powerful, turbulent, and ambitious vassals. Some time before Louis the Seventh breathed his last, the struggle for power commenced with a violent contest for the direction of the young king. The great house of Champagne, on one side, had high claims upon authority, as from it sprung the brothers of the queen, the uncles of Philip. They also had the habit of rule in their favour, for by them had been governed the court of Louis the Seventh, during the whole of the latter part of his life. Their knowledge, their talents, and their power, gave them great claims, and the inferior vassals of the crown were in general willing and accustomed to obey them.

On the other hand, however, appeared the Count of Flanders, whose conduct in the wars of the Holy Land had, it is true, won him anything rather than renown. But he was artful, politic, secret, and had acquired a strong hold upon Philip's affection, which was far from the case with the princes of the house of Champagne. Even the mother of the young sovereign seems to have lost his regard; and we find that almost immediately after his coronation, he solemnly engaged himself to marry Isabella of Hainault, niece of the Count of Flanders.

The evident ascendancy of the latter prince over

the mind of the young king, had already alarmed his uncles and his mother, and disputes ensued, in the course of which he drove forth from his court various noblemen of distinction; and the queen herself, with the Count of Champagne, and other gentlemen of her party, proceeded to Rouen, and held a conference with Henry the Second, beseeching him to aid them in expelling the Count of Flanders from the counsels of Philip. Henry did not hesitate to agree to their request, and not only promised the assistance of his troops in Normandy, but also offered to bring forces from England in case the confederates should need such support. At this time, it would appear, the agreement entered into between the young king and the Count of Flanders had not been made public; but scarcely had the conference at Rouen taken place ere Philip proceeded to Bapeaume, and there united himself in marriage to the niece of the Count of Flanders.

This indissoluble bond between himself and that prince, at once changed the views of his mother and his uncle, nor could Henry desire to drive from the court of the French monarch a nobleman thus connected with him. The English king, therefore, had recourse to mediation between the two contending parties, and in a conference* which took place

* The whole of this matter is misstated by Monsieur Capefigue, who places the quarrel between Philip and his mother subsequent to the death of Louis the Seventh, whereas the meeting between Henry and the young King of France took

at Gisors, between the monarch of England and the young sovereign of France, Philip agreed to afford his mother a proper dowry, and to receive his uncles, and all the other noblemen who had abandoned, or been driven from his court, into favour once more, while they bound themselves to leave the Count of Flanders unmolested. About the same time Henry concluded with Philip a treaty, by which the convention entered into between himself and Louis, in 1170, was confirmed. Each sovereign took the dominions of the other under his protection; and each agreed to leave all points in dispute to the decision of certain arbitrators.

The harmony thus established in France was not of very long duration, though the interruption of

place in June, 1180, and Louis himself did not die till September of that year. That this meeting is the same at which the agreement regarding the Queen of France was entered into is clear, from the testimony of Diceto, the very author cited by Monsieur Capefigue, who mentions the whole facts, gives the date of the meeting between the two kings—namely, on the vigil of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, otherwise the twenty-eighth of June, and also gives the treaty between the two kings, with the date, the fourth Calends of July, which, reduced to our own calculation, is also the twenty-eighth of June. Thus, there can be no earthly doubt that the quarrel between the queen and her son took place before the death of Louis, and not after, as Monsieur Capefigue asserts. The matter is of importance, inasmuch as the whole transactions of that period have been placed in a false point of view, and arguments affecting the most important questions of policy have in our own day been raised upon this unsubstantial foundation.

tranquillity was not owing to any new contest between the queen and her son, but rather to the ambitious grasping of the Count of Flanders, who put forth a claim to some territories not belonging to him, and encouraged a rebellious vavasour of the young Count of Clermont, one of Philip's dearest companions and friends, to throw off his lord's authority and claim of Flanders in chief.

While these events were in progress, however, and before Philip had taken part in the dispute, Henry, who had passed the spring at Chinon, returned to Normandy, and held a conference with the young king at St. Remi, on the frontiers of their dominions. This was in the end of April, in the year 1181; and by the death of his father, in September of the preceding year, Philip was now actually King of France. His mother and the Archbishop of Rheims had by this time gained the most complete ascendancy over him, and their gratitude towards Henry being unbounded, Philip was induced to make great concessions to the English sovereign, promising to be guided entirely by his advice and counsel in all things.

The meeting of the two kings was attended by Knights of the Temple and the Hospital, bearing letters of exhortation addressed to all Christian kings, princes, and nobles, to take the cross, and defend the Holy Land by force of arms. The moment, however, was unfavourable; the monarchs of France and England promised, as had been often

done before, to give the Christians in Jerusalem speedy succour; but the differences between Philip and the Count of Flanders delayed the execution of the French king's purpose, if he did really seriously entertain any idea of a crusade at the time.

It is not improbable that intelligence of the good understanding existing between Philip and the King of England, irritated the ambitious Count of Flanders, and made him commit acts which he otherwise would not have ventured upon. His conduct, which is variously treated by various authors, was undoubtedly rash and intemperate; and before Henry could reach the sea-shore, when retiring from his conference with Philip, the dissensions between the young king and the count had reached such a height, that messengers were sent after the King of England, to entreat he would retread his steps, in order to compose the quarrel which had taken place. They overtook him at Barfleur, and Henry immediately returned, conferred with the rebellious count, near Gisors, and contrived, by persuasions and remonstrances, to stop the war which was on the eve of breaking out.

This object being secured, the English monarch once more set off to revisit his kingdom; but ere we proceed to notice the after events, I must pause to mention an interview which occurred while the king was journeying towards the shores of Normandy, and which may serve to illustrate the feelings and character of the times. Henry was visited

on his way to England by the Count de Bar, who, it would appear, had not lived either the most devout or the most peaceable life, and who now, as a penance for his offences, had been ordered by the pope to proceed into Spain, and make war upon the Mahommedans of that country. He had at this time under his command more than 20,000 Brabancois likewise sent to the Peninsula for the expiation of their sins; and being somewhat in want of money for so great an undertaking, he applied to the wealthy King of England for assistance, supposing, it would seem, that his pious purpose would justify any demand. Henry offered to give the utmost aid, if the count and his followers would take the way to the Holy Land instead of Spain; but what was the result I have not discovered.

Although it is my purpose to dwell as little as possible upon those events which did not actually affect Richard, yet from time to time facts present themselves in the period immediately preceding his accession, which, by their effect upon the state of England in general, claim some notice here. Amongst these, was the promulgation of the famous assize of arms, which not only appointed to each British subject the weapons that he was to use, but commanded all men, possessing property to the value of ten marks, except serfs, to provide themselves with such arms, and took precautions for their always being ready in case of need. In regard to

the act of arming the whole free population, Henry had preceded the promulgation of the decree in England by a regulation to the same effect in his transmarine territories, and his example was speedily followed by France and Flanders. To the assize in England, however, a very important clause is appended, by which the king's subjects are restrained from selling any ships to foreigners, and all persons are forbidden to entice British mariners away from the service of their own country. The latter prohibition was probably levelled at Flanders, which was then the great rival of England on the seas, and the aspect of which at that moment was not at all favourable to her island neighbour. Indeed, the jealous rage which the Count of Flanders felt at the ascendancy Henry II. had acquired in the councils of the King of France, was but smothered for the time. The family of Champagne, by calling Henry to their aid, had not so much recovered their own authority, as regained a small part by sharing it with a greater politician than themselves; and the Count of Flanders, who in uniting Philip to his niece had only sought for rule, found a more dangerous rival in the English monarch.

In consenting to the pacification of Gisors, he had only sought to delay, it would seem, the execution of schemes which he could not execute without the aid of many of the first vassals of France; but he instantly took means, if we may believe Diceto, to arouse the nobles of that country against their

sovereign, and even to call in the aid of a foreign power to overthrow the throne of a prince to whom he had so lately done homage. The barons he endeavoured to persuade that their castles would soon be seized and demolished by Henry and Philip; and to the Emperor Frederic he held out the expectation of extending his frontier to the sea-shore, if he would adopt the quarrel of Flanders. The emperor, however, was at that time sufficiently occupied by the dissensions which had arisen out of the conduct of the famous Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony. That prince had made many enemies by deeds which do not call for investigation here, and the emperor himself was by no means friendly towards him. Charges were brought against him in various diets; but for some time he treated not only his enemies, but the whole body of electors, with contempt; defeated, with great loss, those who attempted to put in force the decrees which condemned him, and seemed even disposed to shake off his dependence upon the Imperial crown. At length, however, Frederic in person took the field against him, and the lion-hearted duke was soon obliged to sue in the tone of a suppliant, was stripped of his territories, and banished for a time from the empire. It was in the midst of these proceedings that the application of the Count of Flanders was made to the German monarch;* but Henry of England had

* Diceto says, that the Count of Flanders went personally to solicit the Emperor's assistance.

hitherto given no support to his son-in-law, the Duke of Saxony, and Frederic was too wise to call the arms of England and France upon him at a moment when such a struggle was going on in the empire.

Though unsuccessful in this application, the Count of Flanders contrived to gain the support of some of the great vassals of the crown of France, and a member of the mighty house of Champagne itself was soon brought over to his party, in consequence of a dispute with the king about the homage of an insignificant fief.* This personage was Stephen, Count of Sancerre, and he contrived to engage several of his relations on the side of the Count of Flanders. The Duke of Burgundy, who was certainly one of the most powerful of Philip's vassals, likewise joined with the Count of Flanders for the destruction of his sovereign; and the Count of Namur, and a number of other nobles, followed his example.

Many angry words and fierce acts followed: the Count of Sancerre, who was one of the king's uncles, seized upon the castle of St. Brice,† and fortified

* Diceto, col. 612.

† This castle and its territory is said by Diceto to have been allodial; but the Count of Sancerre agreed to hold it under the Count of Flanders, and the historian speaks scornfully of him for putting under vassalage lands which were of right free. I do not remember to have found any mention of allodial lands in France after this period.

himself in the strong town Chatillon. The Count of Flanders claimed Amiens and Peronne, with their respective territories, and entered the kingdom of France in arms, while the Duke of Burgundy also raised the standard of revolt, and the relations of the queen-mother either joined the rebels, or stood treasonably neuter.

Thus, in the course of November, 1181, a general insurrection had taken place in the dominions of Philip, and with the exception of Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitaine, very few of the great fiefs of France were not raising troops against their sovereign. In the meantime, it might be doubtful what part Henry II., King of England, would take in this business. He had afforded hitherto the firmest support and the wisest counsel to the monarch whose power was thus severely assailed; but that prince had repaid him by urging the younger Henry to require that his father should make over to him in reality, instead of in name, the duchy of Normandy.

We must pause here to notice briefly the state of the English king's relations with his sons. Henry was famous for evading the fulfilment of his promises; and, though we cannot entertain a doubt that he had ceded completely and fully the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine to Henry and Richard, as far as words could convey a right, yet he had always avoided putting his eldest son into actual possession of the territory devised, and on several

occasions did homage both for it and Aquitaine, shewing a resolution to retain his grasp of power in those provinces to the last. What he gave, in short, had been extorted from him, and he sought to render the act of as little avail as possible.

It can excite no surprise that such conduct irritated his sons, but we must also recollect that the younger Henry equally forgot his own promises towards his father; for we find him continually swearing on the relics of the saints to be contented and observe the old king's commands in all things, and breaking the oath as soon as it is taken. In all probability the immense and thoughtless expenses which he entered into in following, or we might rather say leading, the chivalrous taste of the day, left him always in need of fresh supplies. In 1179, we have a record of his having cast aside his royal state,* to make a tour throughout the whole

* The account of this transaction, given by Diceto, is worthy of remark. "Henricus rex filius regis Angliæ regnum egrediens, in conflictibus Gallicis, in expensis profusioibus transegit triennium. Qui dum per id temporis circumquaque Francorum limites properus peragrasset regia majestate seposita, totus est de rege translatus in militem, et flexis in gyrum frænis, in congressibus variis reportavit triumphum: sui nominis celebritatem favor popularis evexit, suorum in computatione gestorum hylarior fama senem censuit admirando victorias, quem lapsum in negotio beneficium adhuc minoris ætatis in integrum restituerent. Sic igitur in negotiis militaribus occupato, dum nil ei deesset ad gloriam, navem ascendens aput Witsand in Angliam rediit IV., Kal. Martii, cum honore debito receptus à rege patre."

of France, which occupied between two and three years, fighting as a mere wandering knight at every tournament and passage of arms, and triumphing over all his adversaries. These amusements, on account of the splendour of the arms and equipments, and the largesses given to squires and heralds, were enormously expensive, and all the historians of that day speak with emphasis of the profusion and extravagance of the younger Henry.

Many causes of mutual discontent thus existed between the English monarch and his sons, when the news of the insurrection in France reached this country; and Philip had not been slow to aggravate the evil, so that he could not look for aid from England with any certainty. The old King was prevented from crossing the seas till the year 1182, and what answer he made to the applications which were certainly addressed to him by Philip, we do not know. To the younger Henry, however, to Richard, and to Geoffrey, as vassals to the crown of France, the young king had a right to apply with confidence, nor were his expectations disappointed. His brother-in-law, Henry, immediately caused levies to be made in Normandy; Geoffrey, as a vassal of his brother's dukedom, led the forces of Brittany to the aid of his sovereign; and Richard, though we do not find that he had distinguished himself as much in the tournament or the tilt yard as his two brothers, brought the more solid fame of indomitable valour and great military skill, as well as the

troops of Aquitaine and Poictou, to uphold the tottering throne of the young French monarch. We are told that beside the troops which these princes could raise in their several territories, they had engaged a large body of Brabancois to aid the King of France; and as soon as the forces could be united, Philip and the English princes entered the lands of the Count of Sancerre, ravaged them completely, captured the strong castle of Chatillon, and compelled the Count to cast himself at the feet of his offended sovereign. His pardon was granted immediately by his nephew, and the example of submission set by this nobleman was followed by many of the other conspirators.

The Duke of Burgundy, however, was not suffered to escape without chastisement, and the army of the four princes entered his rich and beautiful territory, and ravaged it in various directions; after which they turned to attack the Count of Flanders, who finding himself abandoned by the greater part of his allies, retired before the army of the king;* and affairs were in this state of uncertainty, when Henry II., alarmed by the increasing power of his eldest son, and by the signs of a rebellious spirit which he displayed, disembarked in Normandy, and hastened, according to his usual policy, to mediate between the contending parties. His first effort was to make some arrangement with

* Diceto, col. 612.

his son Henry, and for that purpose he held a meeting with him and the King of France, at which it was agreed that, upon the payment of one hundred Angevin pounds a-day for the maintenance of his own dignity, and ten for the support of his wife's household, the young prince should require no more of his father.* This being settled, Henry immediately proceeded to negotiate with the Count of Flanders, who was at this time in no situation to resist any reasonable demand. A meeting took place between the two Henrys, the King of France, and the Count of Flanders, shortly after Easter, 1182, in the town of Senlis, at which the Archbishop of Rheims and a papal legate were present.† The Count in this conference agreed to yield Peronne to the Bishop of Soissons, as a fief of the crown of France. Amiens and its territory was also restored to the bishop of that city, to hold it of Philip as its liege lord, upon the condition of giving satisfaction to the Count of Flanders in his court, or in the court

* Lord Lyttleton has not related these events with his usual accuracy: he says that Henry the Second was detained in France by new commotions, "which the discontent of the young King Henry had produced," and represents the whole of this transaction as taking place after the conclusion of the war with the insurgents. Hoveden, however, who was with Henry at the time, declares that the cause of the king going to France at all was the turbulent conduct of his son; and places the agreement between the elder and the younger Henry before the negotiations with the Count of Flanders.

† Diceto, col. 613; Hoveden, 616.

of the king, for any claim which that prince might have against him. The Count of Clermont, and some other nobles attached to the King of France, were declared totally free of all sovereignty on the part of the Count of Flanders. At the same time the latter prince gave up into the hands of the King of England the deeds which had passed between him and the younger Henry several years before; and in regard to which, a general renunciation had been previously made on the part of the Count of Flanders, in the year 1175. On this occasion, also, the Count gave a full release to the sons of the English King, completely freeing and exonerating the younger Henry and his two brothers from all the obligations and conventions entered into between him and them during the former war. This act has greatly puzzled some modern historians, who, from not having attended to the words of Hoveden, cannot in any degree reconcile, upon reasonable principles, the renewal of such a renunciation upon the present occasion. It is evident, however, that in 1175, the Count of Flanders, although he had declared the three Princes of England free from all engagements towards him, had kept the charters by which they had conceded to him certain lands and privileges; and it is not at all improbable that during the present war, in which they had been arrayed against him, he had threatened to put forward a claim upon the strength of the deeds which he possessed. Those deeds were

now given up* at Senlis to the elder Henry; and it was not unnatural that he should rejoice at such an event, as he evidently does in a letter to the Bishop of Winchester, cited by Diceto.

In addition to all these acts of submission, the Count of Flanders promised to make compensation to the King of France for the injury he had done his territories during the late war.

Innumerable matters of importance occupied the remainder of the year 1182, but few of the events which took place before the beginning of 1183 affected either Richard himself or the kingdom which he was destined to inherit. The decease of the archbishop is mentioned among the notable events of that particular time; and the death of Pope Alexander, which had happened some time before,

* Lord Lyttleton seems to have been especially embarrassed by these facts. The words of Hoveden are clear and distinct that the charters or deeds are given up, whereas the King's letter to the Bishop of Winchester merely mentions that the Count had proclaimed the princes free from the obligations of those deeds. The text of Hoveden is an explanation of the brief intelligence conveyed in Henry's letter, for the giving up of the deeds was the only real security which the princes of England could have against the claims of the Count of Flanders; but Lord Lyttleton, disgusted at the barbarous Latinity of Hoveden, does not seem to have consulted him so much as he should have done, considering the means of obtaining information which the chaplain possessed. The words of Hoveden on this subject are:— "In eadem concilio idem Comes Flandria tradidit Regi Angliæ patri chartam Regis filii sui; et ipsum et fratres suos quietos clamavit ab omni conventione inter eos facta tempore guerræ."

is certainly worthy of commemoration, as in him died one of the most remarkable enemies of civil order, and the most powerful-minded and vigorous advocates for the exemption of certain classes of men from the control of laws enacted for the benefit of all, who ever used a high understanding for an ignoble purpose, making his virtues and his talents stepping-stones for that ambition which may only the more confidently be looked upon as a crime, because there is the less individual selfishness in its nature.

Besides these events, some disturbances on the Welsh frontier, the arrangement of various plans for promoting Geoffrey, one of his natural children, to the high office of Chancellor, the reception of the Duke of Saxony, and various other occupations, filled up the rest of the year with Henry II., while his sons passed the time principally in the amusements of the court, which was at that moment filled with a number of nobles from all parts of the king's dominions.

At length began the year 1183, one of the most terrible and important, both to Henry II. and to Richard, which I have had yet to notice. The unfortunate events which darkened the course of that year are most obscure in their causes, and we can discover few reasonable motives for the conduct of any of the parties implicated in those sad transactions. During the festivities of Christmas, which was celebrated by all the royal family at the town

of Caen, where Henry held what was then called his Cour Plenière, the king, we are told, suddenly commanded his two younger sons, Geoffrey and Richard, to do homage to their elder brother for their territories of Britanny and Aquitaine. Geoffrey immediately performed the act proposed; for the duchy of Britanny was an ancient dependence upon the duchy of Normandy, and the act was a mere feudal form which could not be refused. Such, however, was not the case with the duchy of Aquitaine, over which Henry II. himself had no sway, except in right of his wife Eleanor, and upon which Henry the younger had no claim whatsoever, but as her eldest son. The treaty of Montmirail, however, had completely and effectually barred the claim of either, and it is evident that both Henry II. himself, and all his contemporaries, considered Richard as absolutely invested with that duchy, and we have no record whatsoever of any homage having been reserved by the father in his cession to the son, though, even had it been so, it would not have implied, according to the feudal law of the time, that the Duke of Aquitaine was bound to do homage to his eldest brother. Nothing of the kind, however, is urged by the most strenuous defenders of Henry, it being clear that his having continued to add to his signature the title of Duke of Aquitaine, was a mere form without substance, which is more than balanced by the fact of Richard so signing his own name as a witness to his father's

own acts; and it is distinctly also asserted by Diceto, that Richard was created Duke of Aquitaine by his father with the consent of his mother, the heiress of that duchy; so that all reasonable pretence was wanting for the demand made upon the present occasion. During Richard's nonage, indeed, his father might govern the duchy; but that prince was now of years to rule for himself, and had done so valiantly and strongly for a considerable period.*

The excuse put forth by Lord Lyttleton of the conduct of Henry upon the present occasion affords, perhaps, the most extraordinary instance on record of the partiality with which a historian learns to view the principal character in his narra-

* The account of the first steps of Henry in this matter, as given by Diceto, places the conduct of the King in a fairer light than that afforded by Hoveden, in point of honesty, though not in point of good sense. He says, that Henry first required of his eldest son to confirm to Richard and his heirs the cession of Aquitaine; but that the younger Henry persuaded his father the barons of that duchy would never submit to Richard, and afterwards offered, as a sort of compromise, to agree to the cession, if his brother, in return, would become his vassal for the territories; to which Henry II. unwisely and unjustly consented. As it is probable, however, that Hoveden was an eye-witness of all he relates at this time, I am inclined to receive his account, in preference to that of Diceto, where they differ; and he distinctly states, that on the day after Christmas day, Henry commanded Richard to do homage, and that it was long afterwards his brother stated the disaffection of the barons of Aquitaine.

tive. As an extenuation of Henry's conduct in the present instance, he supposes that that monarch "looked upon the treaty of Montmirail as null and void after his sons had engaged in a rebellion against him with the French king's assistance, and being master of the terms on which peace was made, reserved to himself, not without some assurance of the acquiescence of Louis, a superiority of dominion over his sons in Aquitaine and Anjou." Where, however, is the slightest hint of such a transaction to be found? He had clearly and distinctly made over certain feudal territories to his sons, and though there can be no doubt that he might retain the homage of those territories to himself, and might, in case of rebellion, cause the territories so granted to be forfeited by the decree of a feudal court, yet he could not otherwise resume the fiefs which he had granted, and still less transfer the homage of one vassal to another. The whole code of feudal law shews that he could not go beyond these limits; and had the lands been actually pronounced forfeit by rebellion, some notice must have been taken of it at the time, either in the public acts or general chronicles of Henry's reign. It is very probable—but we must not assert the fact positively, although the explanation of Diceto strongly confirms the supposition—that the cause and course of Henry's part in these proceedings was as follows:—He might be naturally anxious to prevent a separation of his dominions after his

death, and knowing that Aquitaine was held, not of the crown of England, but of the crown of France, he might, when applied to on the subject of that province by his eldest son, command Richard to do homage to his brother, in order to ensure, by that act on the part of the possessor done towards the heir of the English crown, that the magnificent district which he had obtained with the hand of Eleanor should never be totally severed from the rest of the British dominions. This security seemed to exist in the case of Britanny already, as that duchy was a fief holding directly of Normandy; and had Richard also done homage to his brother, he could never, after making himself a vassal of that brother, consider himself a vassal of France, to the detriment of England, as the dependence of a subvassal upon a lord paramount was then daily diminishing. Richard, however, who certainly had no cause to love or to respect his brother Henry, but every cause to doubt him and to dislike him, as I have already shewn, might very well desire to be totally independent of him after his father's death, and to hold his duchy directly from the crown of France, as it had always been held before by the dukes, his predecessors. In this respect, his determination might be confirmed by the efforts which it is evident the younger Henry made to prevent him from retaining separate possession of Aquitaine, by representing to his father that the whole barons of that land held him in detestation. Nor

can there be any doubt that his irritation against his brother was increased by reasonable suspicions that the younger Henry encouraged his vassals to revolt.

However that might be, Richard positively refused to make the concession demanded, and, if Diceto is to be credited, founded his claim to Aquitaine upon rights derived from his mother, as well as others from his father; and this might have irritated the elder Henry to such a degree that, in one of those wild and insane fits of passion which so often disgraced him, he commanded the younger Henry and his brother Geoffrey to make war upon Richard, and take his territories from him by force.*

* Such is the assertion of Diceto, and I must not omit to give the exact words which he makes use of:—"Ad hanc vocem Ricardus vehementer excanduit incongruum esse dicens, ut dicitur, cum eodem ex patre, cum eadem ex matre traxisset originem, si fratrem primogenitum aliqua specie subjectionis superiorem agnosceret, set sicut ipsi fratri suo regi lege primogenitorum bona debebantur paterna, sic in bonis maternis æqua lance successionem legitimam vendicabat. Rex pater hoc audiens iracundiæ calore succensus adversus Ricardum dura proposuit, et ut ad edomandum Ricardi superdiam rex filius totus insurgeret instanter indixit. Gaufridum quoque Britanniæ ducem, ut cum fratre suo rege domino suo ligio fideliter staret commonuit." That the contradictory accounts of the various authors to which I refer may be under the eyes of the reader at once, I will add here the original words of Hoveden and William of Newbury:—"Præcepit rex regi filio suo accipere homagium à Richardo Comite Pictaviæ fratre suo, et à Gaufrido Comite Britanniæ fratre suo. Ipse vero obediens patri re-

I cannot yet leave a subject which is of such great importance to a proper estimation of the character of Richard, without giving the views of the different writers of that age who may be considered the most worthy of credit. William of Newbury does not mention at all the injunction which Henry laid upon Richard to do homage to his brother, but merely says, that the young king was indignant that Richard should be put in possession of Aquitaine; and Gervaise of Canterbury informs us that it was the Lords of Aquitaine and Poictou who themselves sought to transfer those territories to Henry from his brother; that Richard resisted, and that the younger Henry and Geoffrey, with the Viscount of Limoges, marched against the Duke of Aquitaine without the knowledge of the King of England.

The account of Hoveden, however, is perhaps the most to be relied upon, from his situation about the person of Henry, and from the confidence with

cepit homagium Gaufridi fratris sui, et cum à Richardo fratre suo recipere vellet, noluit ei Richardus homagium facere, et postmodum, cum Richardus offerret ei homagium facere, noluit rex filius recipere. Unde Richardus plurimum indignatus recessit à curia regis patris sui, et veniens in Pictaviam terram suam castella nova firmavit, et vetera effortiavit."

The statement of William of Newbury is as follows:—"Ferum occassione cujudam simultates inter fratres exortæ, idem Henricus indignatus, quod fratrem Richardum pater Aquitaniæ præfecisset, juncto sibi fratre Gaufrido Comite Britannico, et quisbusdam Proceribus Aquitanicis, patrem motibus bellicis lacessivit."

which the monarch treated him. That writer says, that shortly after Christmas day, as I have before stated, the king commanded his eldest son to receive the homage of Richard and Geoffrey, his brothers. The homage of Geoffrey was performed, but when the young king sought to receive that of Richard, the Duke of Aquitaine refused to give it; and when afterwards Richard proposed to do homage, the young king refused to receive it, on which account Richard, in high indignation, retired from his father's court, and going into Poictou, strengthened his territories with new castles, and repaired the old ones. Hoveden then goes on to state, that the younger Henry and Geoffrey invaded their brother's territories on the call of the Lords of Poictou, but never mentions any order from the king to that effect. On the contrary, he states that, as soon as Richard found he could not resist the united forces of his two brothers, he sent to his father for aid against them, which was immediately granted.

If, taking this statement of Hoveden's for the foundation of our history, we seek in the other historians merely for that which he has left obscure, we shall conclude that the younger Henry, whom we have already seen intriguing with the discontented nobles of Poictou, was urged by them to demand the transfer of Aquitaine from Richard to himself, (as we are informed by Gervaise;) that Henry the elder endeavoured, as we are told by

Diceto, to persuade his eldest son to resign all such pretensions, and yield Aquitaine* to his brother and his brother's children for ever; and that the young sovereign still contending that he had a right to require those territories, Henry, at the period mentioned by Hoveden, proposed, as a sort of compromise well justified by various political considerations, that Richard should do homage to his brother for the territories in question; that Richard refused entirely so to do, and retired indignantly from his father's court; and that thereupon the younger Henry and his brother Geoffrey pursued him in arms without their father's knowledge.

This seems to me to be the most rational account that can be derived from the authors of the time, and I believe it to be nearer the truth than any other, though I cannot feel sure in regard to every circumstance. That Henry commanded two of his sons to wage war upon the third, I am unwilling to believe, and the whole of the king's after conduct is opposed to such a supposition; but it must be confessed, that the picture of that monarch's violence upon Richard's refusal is so perfectly in harmony with other acts which he committed at various times,

* The exact words used by Diceto, in speaking of this part of the subject, are—"Postmodum ad hoc pocius pater operam dedit operosissimam, ut idem rex filius Ricardo fratri suo ducatum concederet Aquitanniæ, tam ab ipso Ricardo quam à suis hæredibus tractu temporis irrefragabiliter possidendum."

that I cannot divest my mind of a painful suspicion that in this case, as in regard to Becket, some passionate words might have been pronounced, which were interpreted by others to direct or justify the commission of a great crime.

Certain it is, however, that no sooner did Henry hear of the measures of his eldest son and Geoffrey, than he employed every means to quiet the discord which had arisen, but in vain. They easily obtained possession of the city of Limoges, and thence waged war against their brother Richard, in despite of their father's exhortations and the admonitions of the clergy, who hastened to interfere and prevent the unnatural contest that was going on; till finding that nothing but force would stop their proceedings, the king called his forces to his standard, and began his march towards Limoges.*

Thus far we have some clear account of the commencement of this civil war; but very much that follows is dark and obscure. We find that about this time Richard, in order to remove all reasonable cause of quarrel between himself and his brother Henry, surrendered into the hands of his father the castle of Clarevaux, which had been claimed as a dependence of the county of Anjou. We are assured, also, that meetings took place between

* Hoveden, p. 618. It is a remarkable fact that Lord Lyttleton passes over in silence the distinct declaration of contemporary historians, that Henry commanded two of his sons to attack their brother.

the elder Henry and his sons, and various arrangements are mentioned, which we can in no degree reconcile with the shrewd and politic character of the English king. Thus it is implied that by his consent the young king sent his wife to reside at the court of her brother, the King of France, while the dispute continued between him and Richard; but we find that previous to this very suspicious proceeding, the three princes had met their father at Angers, and had there taken an oath to abide by his decision in regard to their quarrel, as well as to obey his commands in all things. Geoffrey soon broke his oath, however, and Henry II., in company with Richard, by the consent and advice of his eldest son, advanced from Angers towards the city of Limoges, with a very small escort, for the purpose of there meeting the revolted barons of Aquitaine, and reconciling all parties. When he approached the place, the monarch was received with a flight of arrows, by which one of his knights was wounded before his face; and all admission into the town being refused him, he was obliged to re-tread his steps. He returned soon after with such a force as left the citizens no chance of successful resistance; and the gates of the town were opened to him, though the castle still remained garrisoned by the troops of the confederates. Having ridden out, however, with the view of once more exhorting his sons to peace, Henry, it would seem, passed under the walls of that citadel, when,

in the presence of the three princes,* another flight of arrows greeted him, one of which was directed with so good an aim, that, had not the king's horse tossed up its head at the moment, and thus received the wound instead of the monarch, the missile must have entered his breast.

The two rebellious princes neither avenged their father, nor refrained from returning to his enemies; but the younger Henry shortly afterwards came forth again, and spontaneously promised that if the king would grant the insurgents peace, he would utterly abandon the rebellious lords of Aquitaine, unless they came immediately and threw themselves at the monarch's feet. On Henry expressing his willingness to show every sort of clemency, the young king returned to the castle, and then once again came back, asserting that he still found his brother Geoffrey, and the other insurgents, resolved to persevere in their disobedience, on which account, he said, it was his determination to leave them, and submit to his father's will.

* From the expression of Hoveden, I am inclined to believe that Henry the younger, and Geoffrey, had gone out before this period to confer with their father, though Lord Lyttleton reads the passage otherwise. I cannot conceive that Geoffrey or Henry were with the people in the town or the castle, when either of these gross and horrible acts were performed. It is evident, indeed, that they were with Henry at the moment that the last flight of arrows took place; for Hoveden speaks of their going back to the enemy immediately afterwards.

Hoveden, however, assures us that the whole of this proceeding was mere deceit, and was, in fact, a farce enacted to give time to his brother Geoffrey, whom the chronicler does not scruple to call the son of perdition, to lead the mercenary troops which he commanded into the territories of his father, where they committed the most horrible barbarities; plundering, burning, and destroying, pillaging the churches, setting fire to the cities, and sparing neither sex, class, nor age. The infamy of such acts, even had they not been aggravated by the sins of impiety, ingratitude, and rebellion, would have been fully sufficient to justify the extreme of anger on the part of Henry the Second; but the young king his son contrived most basely to delude him, remaining with him as long as it was possible to conceal his treachery, and declaring that all the crimes committed by his brother Geoffrey were without his participation or consent. Henry was willing to believe that such guilt on the part of two of his children was not possible; and even after the young king had left him, and retired some miles further into the country, with the basest intentions, he again recalled him, in so pacific a tone, that it seemed for a time to touch the prince, and melt his hard and deceitful heart. He then returned, and swore upon the relics of St. Martial that he would take the Cross, and expiate his errors in the Holy Land. The king his father, however, believing this vow to be more the offspring of tem-

porary passion than calm resolution; knowing the mind of his son to be in no fit state for any religious act, and feeling in the case of another, that an oath taken towards God, with the pretence of advancing his glory, but springing from vain, light, or evil motives in the human heart, must be condemnatory rather than exculpatory, was so moved by the sin which his son was likely to commit, that he besought him on his knees, with his eyes overflowing with tears, to tell him whether that vow proceeded from rancour, or indignation, or pecuniary need, or true religious feelings.* His son answered, with every sort of asseveration, that he had taken this vow solely for the remission of the offences which he had committed against his father, and added, when he beheld that father weeping and seeking to dissuade him, that he would slay himself with his own hand, unless he desisted from opposing his holy purpose.

I have not thought fit to deviate in the slightest degree from the account given by Hoveden of a transaction so remarkable, that it raised one of the worst of all our Latin writers into true eloquence. Henry promised his son to assist him in all respects, and to send him forth upon his military pilgrimage equipped as became his race and enterprise. The young king then, upon his knees, besought his father to grant a pardon to all the insurgents of Aqui-

* Such are the exact expressions of Hoveden, the king's chaplain, and I can discover not the slightest reason to doubt that these solemn and remarkable words are perfectly true.

taine, which Henry promised most solemnly to do; and another visit was shortly after made by the younger Henry to the camp of the king, accompanied by a number of the citizens of the town, when, casting himself at the monarch's feet, he entreated his clemency on their account. Henry, with his usual moderation, granted the request, but demanded hostages for the future tranquillity of the insurgents, and sent deputies to receive them; but his envoys had scarcely left his presence before they were slain; and the young king, casting off the cross, boldly took arms against his father.

Subsequently, in a conference for a truce, several other servants of the king were slaughtered; and it seems, from the account of Hoveden, that the two insurgent brothers now made it a practice to demand certain persons to confer with them, and then endeavour to kill the ambassadors, who, we may well suppose, were not chosen from amongst their friends. On one occasion, the two deputies from the old king narrowly escaped with life, though men of noble birth, selected by Geoffrey himself. The one was struck at with a sword, and wounded even through his armour; and the other was thrown into the river and well nigh drowned. But even after all these proofs of treachery and baseness, Geoffrey contrived once more to deceive his father, and, under cover of a truce, issued forth and attacked the church of St. Martial, which he stripped of everything valuable that it contained, to the

amount of fifty-two marks of gold, and twenty-seven marks of silver, an immense sum in those days.

Great horror spread throughout Europe at the unnatural war which was going on in Aquitaine. The English and Norman prelates met at Caen, and fulminated a sentence of excommunication against all that should impede the re-establishment of peace, with the sole exception of the young king, who was spared out of respect to his royal dignity. But to him, also, the Archbishop of Canterbury dictated a touching appeal, notifying the sentence which was about to be pronounced, and exhorting the prince to return to his duty.

The young king, however, now showed no disposition to submit, but on the contrary, plundered the churches and the country round, and gathering together his forces, prepared with impious violence to attack his father, and risk a general battle. There can be but little doubt that during the whole of this period, the heart of the younger Henry was moved with terrible agitation; that he felt the load of iniquity which lay upon him; and from time to time suffered dreadfully from irresolution and remorse. But it would appear that he had become so thoroughly entangled with the turbulent barons of Aquitaine, and was so deeply indebted to the bands of Brabancois whom he had hired, that he saw no way of escape but by gaining a complete victory over his parent and his sovereign; and thus, as is

usual in an evil course, he found himself driven on to new crimes, by the consequences of those gone before.

After hesitating for some days, and committing various acts of rapine to satisfy the cravings of his mercenary troops, the young king determined to attack his father with all his forces on the Monday after Pentecost. He was at this time at the small town of Martel, in the neighbourhood of Limoges; and almost immediately after holding the council where this criminal resolution was taken, the agitation of his mind, it would seem, produced the first symptoms of a fever and dysentery, which very soon left no prospect of recovery. As soon as his hopeless state was made known to the younger Henry, remorse seized upon him with all her horrors, and with profound penitence for the acts in which he had been engaged, he sent messengers to his father, expressing the deepest compunction, and beseeching him to pardon and to see him once more before he died.

Henry II. was moved by his son's repentance, and would have visited him in person, had not those who surrounded him remonstrated, and shown him that although his dying son might be trusted, yet the evil men by whom he was still surrounded might take terrible advantage of the king's confidence. The monarch yielded to these reasons, but as a token of his forgiveness, he sent his ring to the unhappy prince by the Archbishop of Bordeaux.

That prelate found the young king still living, and he received the ring with the utmost joy. He besought the Archbishop, however, to return once more to his father, with an entreaty that he would pardon the Barons of Aquitaine, and pay his knights and attendants. After which, putting on sackcloth, and with a rope round his neck, he caused himself to be drawn from his bed, and laid upon a heap of ashes, with a large stone under his head; where, having previously made an ample confession of his sins, he died with a degree of contrition which edified all the beholders. It might be well said of him that "nothing in his life became him like the leaving it." *

The characters of no two men in Europe could be more strikingly opposed than those of Henry, whose death we have just mentioned, and Richard Plantagenet. As is usual, however, showy accomplishments and affable manners won popularity, even in despite of follies and vices; and while we find in the whole course of Richard's previous life, much more to praise and to admire than we discover in the career of his elder brother, yet it is clear that Henry was at this time loved far more

* See for the statements contained in the last four pages, Hoveden, pp. 619, 620; Gervase, col. 1462, 1463; and William of Newbury, lib. III. cap. VII. Diceto undertakes the defence of Prince Henry; but the admitted facts leave no doubt of his gross criminality; and Gervase praises his person and demeanour, but does not conceal his guilt.

generally than the young Duke of Aquitaine. Richard's first rebellion against his father was undoubtedly produced by the influence of his mother and the counsels of his elder brother; but he was the first to return to his duty, and he persevered in it with much steadiness under what he might well consider serious injuries. To him, in 1176, was assigned the hard and disagreeable task of reducing to subjection those turbulent nobles with whom he had been allied in rebellion; and after his brother Henry was dispatched to aid him, he bore with exemplary patience, for one so bold and vehement, the deceitful conduct of that brother, who caballed with those he was sent to reduce, and endeavoured to found a claim to Richard's territories upon the favour of those whose rebellion he was bound to chastise. When, afterwards, his father commanded him to do homage to that very brother, for territories which had been given to him as his own, he certainly at first refused with indignation, but there seems no reason to doubt that he afterwards yielded to the king's remonstrances. We do not find the slightest hint, during the whole course of the terrible proceedings which succeeded, of his having embarrassed the negotiations of his father by any resistance, cabal, or intrigue; although the very war had commenced by an act on the part of that father which Richard evidently felt to be unkind and unjust towards himself.

That the people of Aquitaine might be inimical

to their young duke we can well understand, for while his brother Henry had been spending months and years in tilts and tournaments, lavishing time and treasure on pageantry and show, Richard had been contending on the battle field with the rebels, against whom his father had sent him; and had carried on the struggle against his adversaries with such success as to bring shame as well as defeat upon a vain and irascible race. It was natural that such men should hate him; it was natural that they should bring charges against him of cruelty and oppression;* and it is very probable, also, that, vehement and passionate as Richard certainly was, he did, in a moment of victory, show the fierceness of the lion as well as the lion's courage. It is strange, however, that amongst all the host of enemies which rose up around him in Aquitaine, we do not find any definite instances of his cruelty recorded. In fact, he is generally proved to have spared his enemies taken in open rebellion, with arms in their hands; and though the manners of the younger Henry might be more amiable, his pursuits and amusements more popular, and his conver-

* These charges were brought by the Barons of Poictou and Aquitaine, but we do not find that they were in any degree substantiated. A vague accusation was made at one time of his having violated some of the women of the country, and then turned them over to his soldiery; but we are not told where, when, or how, this act was committed, and the charge is avowedly that of an enemy who had felt the weight of his hand.

sation engaging and attractive, we cannot place his character in contrast with that of Richard without lamenting the instability, the deceitfulness, the treachery, the impiety, the ingratitude of the one, and admiring the frankness, the sincerity, and the stability of the other.*

The corpse of the younger Henry was carried, by his own order, into Normandy, although the inhabitants of Mans endeavoured to stop it by the way, not so much, perhaps, out of regard for his person, as because they looked upon him as more immediately one of their own princes. The people

* All the writers of that day, however, did not view the character of the younger Henry with the same partial eyes wherewith Gervase of Canterbury viewed it; and in comparing his account with that of William of Newbury, we find that the latter judged by actions rather than accomplishments; whereas the former went little below the surface. I subjoin the two accounts. William of Newbury says: "Anno à partu virginis 1183 qui fuit xxx. regis Anglorum Henrici Secundi, Henricus Tertius Anglorum Rex, junior immatura morte decessit. Plane immatura, si ætem respicias, sed multum sera, si actus attendas. Fœdaverat enim adolescentiam suam nævo inexpiabili similitudine scelestissimi Absalonis, ut superius expositum est. Juventutem quoque ingressus, eandem adolescentiæ suæ noluit esse dissimilem, et prævaricator, non tantum naturæ (ut prius) verum etiam solemnium pactorum, rebellavit iterum contra patrem." The description of the younger Henry by Gervase is as follows:— "Amabilis enim erat omnibus et pulcher aspectu, et præcipue gloriæ militaris insignis, udeo ut nulli videretur esse secundus; humilis, docilis erat, et affabilis, unde cum et prope positi et longe remoti affectuose diligebant."

of Rouen claimed the body; and on this curious subject of dissension a civil war would have broken out had it not been quieted by the decision of Henry II.

That monarch was deeply afflicted by the death of his eldest son, who had certainly been his favourite child. He fainted three times on the intelligence being communicated to him, and showed the most immoderate and excessive grief during many days. Richard, however, to whom his brother had sent no message on his death-bed, no sooner heard that the army of the rebels was dispersing, on the death of their royal leader, than he sprang into the saddle, and pursuing the various bands in all directions with a choice troop of men-at-arms, cut to pieces many small bodies, and prevented the rest from re-assembling. He then returned to his father. The rebellion at Aquitaine was at an end; and a new scene opened before the prince as heir-apparent to the crown of England.

BOOK X.

Some of the transactions which ensued after the death of Henry the younger, must be passed over rapidly, as their effect on the reign and history of Richard was not important. Henry II., as soon as he had recovered from the stupor of grief, urged forward the siege of Limoges furiously, and speedily reduced the garrison to capitulate. He then, with the aid of his son Richard, besieged and took several other places in Poictou; some of which he retained in his own hand, some of which he levelled with the ground. Between himself and the young duke there seems not to have been the slightest opposition at this time. Richard, the heir of the whole monarchy, and certain, if he survived his father, of holding the duchy of Aquitaine as a fief from the crown of France, was perfectly willing to gratify Henry by doing homage to him for the territory, although he had once refused to perform that act

towards his own brother.* A vast difference, indeed, existed between the two cases, not only in point of feeling, but also in point of policy. By doing homage to his father, he only did that which could never be exacted from him by any other English sovereign, while by doing it to a brother he acknowledged a dependence of Aquitaine upon another crown, which might pass to remote relations, with whom the kindred ties might be greatly weakened. In the next place, he had once already done homage to his father for the duchy of Aquitaine, and had he also performed that act to his brother, he would have rendered himself one of the fourth-rate vassals of the crown of France; he being the man of the younger Henry, that prince the vavasour

* Lord Lyttleton, in speaking of the conduct of Richard in regard to Aquitaine, forgets entirely—or if that term be not applicable to such an historian—overlooks entirely the fact that Richard having once done homage to his father, Henry, for the duchy of Aquitaine, was entirely free and independent of him, except in so much as feudal suit and service was implied, as one prince could be of another. Henry, by his paternal authority, could say, thou shalt do so or so, and Richard, from his filial piety, might obey the commands of his father; but Henry, according to the strict tenour of the feudal law, had no right to dictate any sort of conduct to Richard whatsoever, or to set foot in his territory, unless one of three conditions existed—namely, that judgment had been pronounced against the vassal in the king's sovereign court; that the vassal was in arms against his sovereign; or that the fief was without an heir in the king's court. This law was often violated, but such was the law.

of the King of England, and the King of England the vassal, for Aquitaine, of the French sovereign. To be vavasour of his own father, whose heir he was, and who had originally bestowed the fief, was quite a different position; and that he was quite willing to hold himself as such, Richard had shown at Mans, in 1175.

We must now turn to the young Duke of Brittany. His colleague in rebellion being dead, his forces dispersed, his Brabancois plundering the country round, his dauntless brother and his offended father at the head of a large force, ready to strip him of his territories, and punish him for his crimes, Geoffrey of Brittany had no resource but to throw himself at Henry's feet, and implore pardon for his offences. He accordingly appeared at the court of the king, and was reconciled to his father and his brother. I find no proof that he ever showed the slightest remorse, that he ever even expressed penitence, or promised amendment; but, to use the expression of a contemporary writer, "he remained hanging about and fluctuating round his father, till he found that Henry would not grant the boons which he sought to exact, and then he went over to the enemies of his country."

Before we detail the events connected with that transaction, however, we must treat of other matters prior in point of time, and notice the claims by which Philip, commonly called Augustus, King of France, commenced that series of exactions from

the monarchs of England, which he carried on so successfully through his long and splendid reign.

On the marriage of Prince Henry with a daughter of the King of France, a befitting portion had been given by her father; and Henry II. had induced a weak sovereign to renounce all title to the town of Gisors and to the Norman Vexin, which was yielded to England at the time of her union with the heir-apparent of that kingdom. It is necessary to remark and remember, however, that with the treaties concerning the marriage settlement of Margaret of France were mixed many other points of discussion between the King of England and the King of France, and that the cession of the Norman Vexin was not made without a dispute as to whether that territory belonged of right to France or to Normandy. It was ceded at the time that the marriage was agreed upon, but the question was left open whether it was yielded to the just claim of the King of England, or given as a portion to the Princess of France. It became the interest of Henry now to maintain that the former was the case, as in fact he had always asserted; and it suited the purposes of Philip to declare that the latter was the true interpretation of the act of cession.

Numerous treaties and conventions, however, had been entered into since the marriage, which so strongly confirmed Henry's claim, that in a conference which took place between Gisors and Trie,

Philip did not venture to urge his demand vigorously, and consented to receive an annuity for his widowed sister's support of one thousand seven hundred and fifty Angevin pounds, to be paid in Paris, without any deduction.* Although this was a very splendid sum, considering the relative value of money at that period, Henry was induced afterwards to increase it, in consequence of a letter from the Pope, exhorting the King of England to be more munificent in his dealings with his daughter-in-law, for the sake of his own salvation.† At this same meeting between Gisors and Trie,‡ the King

* The gentleman of whom I have before spoken, and who has written a history of Philip Augustus, has stated that Henry agreed to give Margaret seven hundred and fifty livres; as his authority for which he cites Hoveden, who, on the contrary, says, at page 621, that Henry agreed to give her as an annuity, "mille et septingentas et quinquaginta libras Andegavensis monetæ:" otherwise, one thousand seven hundred and fifty Angevin pounds. How Monsieur Capefigue has contrived to reduce this sum I cannot tell; but brought into sous Tournois, by the calculation of Le Blanc, (page 153,) it amounts to twenty-six thousand two hundred sous Tournois, at fifty-three sous four deniers to the mark.

† Monsieur Capefigue seems not to have understood, and has certainly misplaced, this letter of the Pope. The conference at which the dowry of Margaret was settled took place in the year 1183; the letter of Pope Lucius was written in 1184. Diceto, col. 624.

‡ It is not very clear whether one or two meetings took place this year between the two kings; but if there were two, it was at the last, on the XIII. calends October, that Henry did homage.

of England did homage to Philip for all his transmarine territories, and the two sovereigns parted apparently good friends.

It must be recollected, however, that a double claim had been put in by the French sovereign on the death of Prince Henry: first, for the restitution of the Vexin, and, secondly, for the transfer of certain lands which had been settled upon his sister by her husband at the time of her marriage. Now, whether the composition entered into by Henry could be considered as satisfying both these demands, or whether, in regard to the Vexin, he rested upon his absolute right to that territory, and granted the annuity solely as an equivalent for the estates which the younger Henry had settled upon his wife, but which he now showed had been previously settled upon Queen Eleanor,* may be doubted. The latter supposition, however, is the most probable, as we find that the claim upon Gisors was never abandoned for any length of time, although it is distinctly stated by one English writer of high authority that Philip and the young queen agreed to give up all title whatsoever to the Vexin, provided their sister Adelais should be married either to Richard or John; which statement, together with another event which we shall have to notice very soon, proves the singular fact, that although

* We must candidly acknowledge that this transaction, as well as various other acts of Henry towards the monarchs of France, bears a somewhat fraudulent appearance.

the princess had been placed in the hands of Henry to be united to his son Richard, she had never, properly speaking, been affianced to that prince.*

It is probable that this extraordinary proposal was connected with one little less so, made by Henry to his son Richard towards the end of 1183—namely, that he should give up Aquitaine to John, merely receiving homage for the duchy from his brother. Richard seems to have been taken by surprise, for John had already the prospect of inheriting Ireland, and every consideration of policy required that their father should keep his continental dominions undivided; but many of the arguments used in his own favour, during his brother Henry's life, now told against Richard, and, before he made any reply, he asked a few days to consider and consult with his friends. This was granted to him; and Richard, retiring from his father's presence, went into Poictou, from which place he sent a message, stating his resolution never to give up the duchy of Aquitaine to any one.

Though the only accounts of this transaction which we possess are scanty and confused, it would appear that Henry pressed Richard vehemently to yield to his wishes, but that Richard resisted firmly, and the king, becoming angry, ordered Geoffrey

* The fact alluded to, as proving that Richard and Adelais had never been contracted to each other by any binding tie, is the treaty for an alliance between that prince and the daughter of the emperor, which is mentioned a few pages farther on.

and John to ravage their brother's territories.* The attempt to intimidate Richard, however, was vain, and turning upon his assailants, he entered Brittany at the head of a considerable force, and more than repaid Geoffrey for all the evils he had committed in Poictou. The king, however, repented speedily of his rash violence, and hastening to reconcile his sons, he gathered them together at Westminster, in the course of the following year, and made them swear upon the sacrament that they would maintain peace with each other for the future; but it does not appear that he desisted from urging Richard to resign Aquitaine to John.

In the same year—namely, 1184, Henry was visited in England by the Archbishop of Cologne, in company with the Count of Flanders. The pretence of their journey was a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, but the real cause of their coming is not openly stated. Judging from the events which followed, there can be but little, if any, doubt that the intriguing Count of Flanders was then endeavouring to form a general league against Philip, King of France, who demanded that the Vermandois should be restored to the crown, alleging that it had been improperly obtained from his father and himself at a period when neither were in a state to make such a gift permanent.

It would be out of place here to enter fully into the original question of the cession of the Vermandois

* Benedict Abbas.

to the Count of Flanders. It is clear that Louis VII. bestowed it, and that Philip, while still in his extreme youth, confirmed the donation; but whether or not the one king had legally the power to give* a part of the royal demesne in perpetuity, and the other could confirm it while in his fourteenth year, must be a matter of considerable doubt now, as it certainly was at the time; for the confirmation of Philip was that upon which the Count of Flanders would seem principally to have rested. Suffice it to say, that the demand above mentioned was made by Philip, and rejected by the Flemish prince, and that, in the beginning of this year, 1184, Henry, previous to his return to England, had with difficulty effected a temporary reconciliation between the Count and Philip, neither party seeking, apparently, more than time to prepare for active hostilities. A truce, however, had been concluded between them at the town of Choisi, to last for one year, from the day of St. John next ensuing; and the English king, on his return to his own dominions, passed through those of the Count of Flanders, where he was received with every mark of honour and distinction.

On the appearance of the Count and the Archbishop in England, Henry went in person to meet

* The "Branche aux royaux lignages," puts the question entirely upon this footing; stating, as Philip's reply to the Count of Flanders, that a King of France had not the power permanently to alienate the royal demesne.

them; and after they had performed the devotions at Canterbury which were the pretexts for their journey, he brought them to London, where they were received by a multitude of the citizens, crowned with garlands. I discover no record of any actual treaty entered into between the three princes at this time, but many important facts are noticed, which leave no doubt that the Archbishop of Cologne, in the year 1184, engaged in an offensive and defensive league with the Count of Flanders, and that the same prelate was induced by some means not only to be reconciled to his ancient enemy, Henry, Duke of Saxony, then at the court of England, but to undertake that the Emperor Frederic should give his daughter in marriage to Richard Plantagenet. From all these facts, and from the events which followed, we may well deduce that the object of the visit made by the Archbishop and the Count of Flanders at this time was to engage Henry II. either to join the league against the French king, or to remain neuter in case of a war. In the latter object they succeeded, and the arrangements for the marriage of the young Duke of Aquitaine to the German princess having been concluded, the bishop and the count quitted England. On arriving in Flanders, they immediately proceeded to wage war upon the Count of Hainault, which, though not an actual breach of the existing truce, was a manifest injury to the French king. The pretext for this attack upon the Count of Hainault was, that he had

made some incroachment upon the territory of Flanders, but the real object could not be doubted, and Philip accordingly determined to take arms in support of his father-in-law.

The truce was soon openly broken by both parties, but the Count of Flanders was the first in the field, and marching on with the utmost rapidity, he passed the rivers Somme and Oise, ravaged the country, attacked the town of Corbie, and approached Senlis, within a few leagues of Paris itself, threatening at the same time to advance upon the capital, and to plant his banner in the Rue de Calandre.* In the meanwhile, Philip assembled some forces at Compiegne, ordered another muster to be made at Amiens, and putting himself at the head of his army, marched at once to meet the enemy. The count immediately retreated from Senlis upon the division which he had left besieging Corbie. Philip followed in haste, and found that the enemy had already effected a breach in the outer wall. His approach, however, once more scared the Count of Flanders from the prey which was nearly in his power, and after succouring Corbie, Philip marched on, and laid siege to Boves.† Thither the count followed him, and a general battle seemed inevitable; but the Archbishop of Rheims, now Cardinal of Champaigne, mediated between the two parties, and brought about a treaty of peace, the stipulations

* Guil. Armoric.; Rigord. ad ann., 1184.

† Guil. Armoric.

of which clearly shew that the Count of Flanders felt himself utterly incompetent to contend with the French sovereign.* He made a general concession of almost every thing which Philip had demanded, giving up the whole of Vermandois, with the exception of the towns of St. Quentin and Peronne, which were left to him for life. He also agreed to make compensation to the Count of Hainault for the ravages which he had committed in his territory. There can be no doubt that a preliminary treaty to the above-named effect was signed near the town of Boves; but it would appear that negotiations were carried on for some time afterwards, and that the final arrangement of the whole was delayed till the following year.

Early in 1185, Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, with a large train of the Knights of the Hospital and Temple, arrived in England, having been despatched by Baldwin the Leper to beseech the immediate aid and assistance of his relation, Henry, in opposing the daily growing power of Saladin.† The patriarch was also furnished with a letter from the Pope, setting forth the eminent peril of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and urging Henry most strongly to hasten to its aid. The King of England

* Rigordus says that the treaty was brought about by the mediation of the Count of Blois and the archbishop.

† It is stated that Heraclius brought with him to Henry the banner of the Holy City, and the keys of the tower of David, and our Lord's sepulchre. Hoveden, p. 628.

received the deputies with the utmost kindness and distinction, but cautiously abstained from committing himself by any pledge to visit the Holy Land; and the advice of the clergy and nobles being asked upon the question of a new crusade, a very doubtful answer was obtained from a council held in London shortly after the arrival of Heraclius. The patriarch then petitioned that if the king himself was prevented from undertaking the holy war, one of his sons, either Richard or John, might be sent to Palestine; but Henry evaded this request at the time, and, in the month of April following, he took ship and landed on the coast of France, still accompanied by the patriarch, who lingered in the hope of obtaining some greater aid from the King of England than either the pecuniary supplies which the monarch had granted him, or a body of troops raised by several English barons, who were permitted by Henry to lead their own retainers to the Holy Land.*

No sooner did Philip of France learn that Henry had arrived in Normandy, than he sought a conference with him, and advanced some way to meet the English king, although he certainly had no great cause to be satisfied with the conduct which Henry had lately pursued towards him. That monarch, as

* I have not dwelt at large on these events, as I shall have to notice them more fully hereafter, in giving a general account of the events which took place in Palestine during the fourteen years immediately preceding the third crusade.

we have seen, had not only entered into a scheme, before any arrangement had been finally made regarding the Princess Adelais, to unite her promised husband to another, but, besides this, had permitted some of his barons, who were connected by somewhat doubtful ties with the Count of Flanders, to aid that prince in his war against France. Amongst these was the famous William de Magna-villa, or Mandeville, Earl of Essex, by whose presence with the Flemish army, we are told, the people of Hainault suffered severely. Nevertheless, it does not appear that Philip expressed any very great indignation at the conduct of his ally, and the two kings remained together for three days in peaceful festivities.

The mind of the King of England, however, was ill at ease, for not long before, his son Richard, pressed, as we have seen, to resign the duchy of Aquitaine, and shewing a strong resolution to defend it to the last, had retired from England into Poictou, whether with his father's consent or not is doubtful. Soon after, he had invaded the territories of Geoffrey, who had been previously sent to rule in Normandy during the king's absence, and who, we may suppose, had again demanded the cession of Aquitaine on the part of his father.* The

* Lord Lyttleton gives a view of this matter not so accurate as could be wished. He merely speaks of the ravages committed in the territories of Geoffrey; and adds, that Richard "still persisted in that unnatural war." "What new quarrel,"

king, determined not only to put a stop to the war, but also to withdraw, by some means, that important duchy from the hands of the heir apparent, collected a large army at Rouen, and preferring that even his wife Eleanor should hold the lands in question rather than Richard, sent a letter to his son, informing him that "unless he yielded to his mother the whole of Poictou, freely and quietly, he would visit him with a rod of iron, and drive him out by force of arms. On receiving this mandate, Richard, abandoning his hostile purposes, gave up Poictou to his mother, and returning to his father, remained with him as an obedient son." Such are the words of Hovedon, who had every opportunity of knowing the truth, and we cannot but feel that some credit was due to the young prince, who could thus curb and rule the strong and vehement passions with which he was undoubtedly possessed, and bend his

says the noble lord, "had so soon disturbed the reconciliation between those two princes, which their father had made in 1184, no account is given us in any history of those times. All we know is, that Richard was certainly the aggressor."

Now Hovedon mentions the matter thus:—"His son Richard, Count of Poictou, who was strengthening Poictou against him, and who had made war upon his brother Geoffrey, Count of Bretagne." The rest of the words used by Hovedon I have translated in the text; but the whole account shews that Henry had never resigned his intention of wresting Aquitaine from Richard, and that prince was resolved not to yield it to either of his brothers.

will to that of his father, even when exercised in an unjust and tyrannical manner.*

It is not improbable, as has been generally conjectured, that the purpose of the old king in restoring the Duchy of Aquitaine to Eleanor was to remove her from his court, and rid himself of such a witness to his criminal amours. The queen consort had been confined for many years in England, with a harshness which her own criminality towards her former lord did not at all justify in her adulterous husband; but shortly before this time she had been set at liberty, it is supposed at the entreaty of the Duchess of Saxony. The Princess Adelais of France was at this time just entering that period of youth when the beauties of the child, expanding into those of the woman, might be supposed to captivate the lascivious affection of a depraved old man; and it is not improbable that at about this time commenced that intrigue between herself and Henry which undoubtedly did ultimately take place, and to which have been attributed, by historians who should have known better, actions which occurred long before any such attachment could have arisen.

* I am sorry that it is impossible for me to agree with the views of Lord Lyttleton upon these points; for although we rely upon the same authorities, and state the matter with a very slight difference of terms, his account goes to slur over the vacillating and unreasonable conduct of Henry, and to conceal, or rather leave untold, the filial obedience and self-command displayed by Richard.

As it would have been too grossly indecent to shut up Eleanor again immediately after having liberated her, and as her presence might be inconvenient in England, it is probable Henry found it agreeable both to fix her in Aquitaine, and remove Richard from that duchy. In the meantime, there can be but little doubt that Philip, beginning to feel both ashamed and alarmed at his sister's situation, pressed Henry to proceed in the marriage of Adelais to one or other of his sons. They had more than one meeting in the course of the year 1185, but still, it would seem, the greatest harmony subsisted between the two kings, and we do not find that any angry discussions occurred between them.* On the contrary, Henry acted the part of peace-maker between Philip and the Count of Flanders, in a great meeting which took place at Aumale on the 7th of November.

The course of events in the Holy Land we shall have to notice very soon; but while speaking of the occurrences of 1185, it may be necessary to state that notwithstanding the mission of the patriarch of Jerusalem, much less sympathy was met with on the part of the kings of France and England than might have been expected. Neither of them gave any fair hope that they would proceed to the Holy

* We find the following record concerning one of these meetings:—"Rex Francorum regem Anglorum infirmitate tactum visitavit V. idus Novembris aput Belveir faciens ibi moram pertriduum."

Land in person; nor did Henry, as the patriarch had desired, agree to send either of his sons, whose presence, as a descendant of Fulk of Anjou, might have terminated the contests for power which were going on in the unhappy kingdom of Jerusalem. Heraclius accordingly returned, grieved and disappointed, although both Henry and Philip promised abundant supplies of money and men, and proceeded some way in the fulfilment of such engagements.

The year 1186, which was prolific of great events of various kinds, was ushered in by a conference in the neighbourhood of Gisors, between Henry, King of England, and Philip, King of France, at which were present the Count of Flanders, and Margaret, the widow of the younger Henry. Various matters, which had been often treated of before, were here once more brought under discussion, and the question of the young queen's dowry, as well as that of the peace between France and Flanders, was settled upon a better foundation than before. The most important subject mooted, however, was Richard's marriage with Adelais; and while Henry promised on oath to conclude their union without further delay, Philip declared that upon the celebration of that marriage, he would give up all demand whatsoever to Gisors and the disputed territory.

As soon as this conference had taken place, Henry, after having made some arrangements in Aquitaine, which we are told gave great offence to

Richard, but in regard to which no quarrel took place between the father and the son, returned into England, taking with him his queen, Eleanor, and once more sending back his eldest son into Poictou. Richard's warlike genius did not suffer him to remain long at peace, and in France, at that time, an opportunity of exercising himself in arms was easily met with. Early in this year we find him marching against the Count of Toulouse, we are told, by the commands of his father. The cause of this war with the count, however, would seem not to have been any new offence offered by him to Henry, as Lord Lyttleton has supposed, but rather a quarrel which existed between him and the King of Arragon, one of the English monarch's most faithful allies. In the year 1183, we find that the Count of Toulouse was leagued with the younger Henry in opposition to his father,* while the King of Arragon marched with a large force to support Richard and Henry in their attack upon the castle of Limoges. The count and the Spanish King, both possessing territories in the south of France, had been for many years engaged in an endless series of wars and negotiations, and although they had concluded a treaty of peace in 1185, a new quarrel speedily arose between them.

It was natural that on hostilities being resumed,

* This is proved by a letter from the count to the pope, in regard to the wishes which the younger Henry expressed upon his death-bed.

the King of Arragon should apply at once to his friend, the young Duke of Aquitaine, and as natural that Richard should give him aid in arms. We accordingly find, that scarcely had Richard arrived in his dominions in the year 1186, than he held a meeting with his ally, and that the English prince ceded the sovereignty of some territories belonging to Aquitaine to the friendly monarch. A league was concluded between them at the same time, and the war broke out not long afterwards by the Count of Toulouse besieging Carcassonne, which was held by Roger, Viscount of Beziers, an ally, if not a vassal, both of Richard and the King of Arragon. There is reason to believe that the Arragonese monarch marched at once to the relief of Carcassonne, and we are assured, though not upon very good authority, that he fought and defeated the Count of Toulouse under the walls of that city.

Certain it is, however, that about the same time Richard declared war against the count, and entered his territories, taking a number of castles and small towns; while William, Lord of Montpelier, joined the young Duke of Aquitaine at Agen,* and aided him in the hostilities he was carrying on. The Count of Toulouse was utterly unable to keep the field against Richard; and it would seem he applied more than once, ineffectually, to Philip of France for armed assistance against the English prince.

* This is proved by a charter given by Richard in this year to the Abbey of Candeil, in the Albigeios.

That monarch might have many motives for refusing to embroil himself in war with the King of England, and he seems at first to have avoided it strenuously, acting moderately and wisely in regard to some disturbances which took place on the frontiers of France and Normandy, in the neighbourhood of Gisors.

At the same time, however, Philip contrived to give no slight uneasiness to Henry II. by encouraging his son Geoffrey to demand the county of Anjou, which the English monarch was in no way disposed to grant, considering the rich territory of Britanny as a sufficient appanage for his second son. Geoffrey continued to urge his claim, and finding that his father would not yield, withdrew to Paris, where preparations of a very menacing character were made by himself and Philip, as if for the attack of Henry's transmarine dominions. In the midst of those preparations, however, a tournament was given by the King of France, in the course of which Geoffrey was thrown to the ground and trodden under foot by the horses. It would seem that he was not killed on the spot, but lingered some time, which gave currency to a report that he died of a fever.* His conduct through life had been

* Lord Lyttleton, following the account of William of Newbury, seems to think that he died a natural death. Diceto does not mention how he died; but Hovedon distinctly states that he died from being trodden under foot by the horses; and William the Armorican says that he died at Champeaux, which was

such, that his father shewed no profound sorrow for the loss of a son who, at the very moment of his death, was plotting fresh disobedience; and as he was known to be remorseless, cold-blooded, and deceitful, few persons, except the King of France and those who had allied themselves with him in his rebellion against Henry, entertained any great grief for the fate of the young Duke of Britanny.

Philip, however, displayed all the signs of mourning, affected to look upon the memory of Geoffrey as that of a brother, and demanded the guardianship of the daughter which the deceased prince had left behind. He put in this claim as the feudal sovereign of the late Duke of Britanny, but it seems to be perfectly clear that Britanny had been repeatedly recognised as a fief of Normandy, and therefore the right of custody was absolutely in the King of England. Nevertheless, Philip carried his pretensions so far as to threaten a war for the purpose of obtaining possession of the heiress; and Henry in consequence sent Ranulph de Glanville, his grand justiciary, together with the Earl of Albemarle and

the ordinary place for celebrating tournaments in Paris. I cannot suppose that the king's chaplain could be ignorant of the manner in which the prince met with his death, although Rigordus speaks of his falling sick, without mentioning any accident which he had met with. Rigordus shews, however, that he is inaccurate, by giving a wrong date to Geoffrey's death, and therefore I cannot suffer his testimony to prevail against that of Hovedon.

the Archbishop of Rouen, to negotiate a truce for a short period, and thus give time for the establishment of a more settled peace.

Although he consented to suspend hostilities, Philip had probably no intention of maintaining long an appearance of amity towards the English king. Indeed, there is good reason to suppose that one cause of his pausing in his course at this period was the insecure state of his authority over his great vassals, for we find that during 1186 he was engaged for a short period in open hostilities with the Duke of Burgundy, while his reconciliation with the Count of Flanders was yet by no means secure. In granting the truce, it is probable that the French king might also be influenced by a wish to see what would result from the pregnancy of Constance, Duchess of Britanny, who had by this time declared herself with child.

As the period for her delivery approached, Henry himself hastened over into France, where he arrived on the 20th of February, 1187, and proceeded at once to Aumale. He was there joined by Richard and John, and a conference was held between the father and his two sons in regard to the course to be pursued should a war become inevitable; which, indeed, seemed very likely to be the case, as Philip's desire to obtain a hold of Britanny was sufficiently apparent. Shortly afterwards, in the month of March, a meeting took place between Henry and Philip at the ford of St. Remi, and another followed in the

month of April. The particulars of the negotiation which took place are not known, but we learn that the two monarchs separated without the slightest hope of peace, and the English historians reproach Philip with making demands so excessive that it was impossible Henry could yield to them. They parted then to prepare for war, and it would appear that Richard was now strenuous in his attachment to his father's cause, although there can be no doubt that the detention of his promised bride by Henry II. was one of the complaints most strongly urged by her brother, the King of France.*

On the 29th of March, 1187, shortly before the last conference between the two kings, the Duchess of Britanny gave birth to a son, and it is not improbable that the custody of the infant prince was a question which had a part, amongst other ele-

* The demands of the King of France, as stated by Gervaise of Canterbury, with the exception of that in regard to Britanny, seem anything but unreasonable or unjust. The words of Gervaise are as follows:—"M.C.LXXXVIJ. Discordia regum Franciæ videlicit et Angliæ in immensum aucta est acsi jam jamque essent dimicaturi. Rex enim Franciæ rogaverat regem Angliæ ut ea quæ pater suus Lodovicus cum filia sua regi juniori quasi in dotem dederat, sibi et regno Franciæ restitueret pacifice. Injustum enim erat ut ipse jure suo privaretur cum ipse cui collata fuerant absque hærede ante annos aliquot obiisset. Voluit etiam ut Britannia minor et soror sua, illa scilicet quæ ante annos plurimos Comiti Ricardo data est in conjugium sibi restitueretur, quæ quasi captiva sub arcta custodia servabatur in Anglia."

ments of discord, in hastening the war. Large forces were now raised on both sides, and Henry, not knowing where his dominions would be attacked, separated his troops into four divisions, sending John towards the frontiers of Anjou, and Richard to guard Poictou, while his natural son Geoffrey, formerly Bishop of Lincoln, commanded a third body, and the Earl of Albemarle a fourth.

The coruse of Philip was soon decided; and having united the whole of his forces at Bourges en Berri, he marched rapidly upon Issoudun, which was taken almost without resistance. He then forced Gracay, and advanced at once towards Chateauroux. Before he could invest that city, however, Richard and John had thrown themselves into the place, and prepared to defend it to the last extremity. At the same time, Henry bringing the whole of the rest of his forces into one body, hastened to the assistance of his sons, while Philip turned to meet him; thus raising the siege and permitting the two English princes to join their father. The armies were on the eve of battle, when the clergy interfered, and two legates of the pope, who had come from Italy some time before, commanded the monarchs, in the name of the church, to desist from their unchristian quarrels, on pain of excommunication.*

* For these events I have depended upon Hovedon, William of Newbury, and Diceto, rejecting the account of Gervaise of Canterbury, which begins with the serious assertion that a cer-

It is certain that in that day the thunders of Rome were very powerful upon the imaginations of men; but the willingness of these two furious hosts, which William the Breton represents as panting to engage, to lay aside their sanguinary purposes, at the first sound of the clerical voice, would seem not a little surprising. At the threat of excommunication, the gallant chivalry of England and France instantly dropped their weapons, negotiations were commenced, treaties were proposed, and a suspension of arms was agreed upon for two years, in the convention for which it was stipulated that the territory which Philip had obtained was to remain in his hands to the end of the truce, and that Urse de Freteval should do homage to the French King till the claims of the two monarchs could be finally settled. In the meantime, if we may believe Rigordus, the matters in dispute between the two crowns were to be referred to Philip's court of peers, but this is confirmed by no historian more worthy of credit. The account given by William the Breton, of Henry and Richard running with bended heads and stretched-out arms, and falling at the knees of Philip, is of course unworthy of a moment's consideration;* for the poem of the

tain image of the infant Saviour, in the arms of the Virgin, bled profusely on one of Richard's Brabancois breaking off its arm.

* I cannot place more reliance on the account given by Monsieur Capefigue, (vol. i. p. 282,) of Richard, when the battle

good Armorican might be, as indeed it was, extremely prosaic, without abandoning the regions of fiction.

It would seem, however, that Richard took a great part in the negotiations on this occasion, and that Philip applied himself with all that art which he so greatly possessed, to win the affection of the English prince. Nor did he do so in vain, for, after the truce was concluded, the young Duke of Aquitaine remained with the King of France, without the consent and against the will of his father, and even accompanied him to Paris. The French monarch left no means untried, omitted no sign of confidence

was just about to commence, going over on a fiery courser to the King of France, preceded by his banner and by the Count of Flanders, and declaring that he had come to do homage to that king, and to treat in the name of his father. Where Monsieur Capefigue derived this romantic little incident, I do not know; William the Breton is the only author whom he cites near that place, and the anecdote is placed within inverted commas; but such a statement is not to be found in William the Breton, nor in any other contemporary authority that I have met with, the nearest approach to it being that of Gervaise of Canterbury, which we have noticed in a preceding note. I cannot help thinking that Monsieur Capefigue must have consulted a very different copy of William of Breton from any that I have ever seen or heard of, inasmuch as in every one of the passages which he marks with inverted commas, as cited from that work, I find an immensity of matter which I cannot discover at all in the original. Assuredly the above tale is neither to be found in the Philipeide, nor in the Life of Philip by William the Breton.

or affection, by which Richard might be bound to him; and we find that they not only ate at the same table and out of the same dish, but, as was customary in those days, when two persons were desirous of displaying any remarkable sign of confidence, they slept in the same bed.*

The intimacy between Richard and Philip greatly pained and grieved the father of the English prince, more especially as it was known to be the desire of the King of France that Richard should do homage direct to him for Aquitaine, which was evidently contrary to Henry's views. The English monarch accordingly sent messengers to recal his son from the French court, making vague promises to satisfy all his reasonable demands. But the young Duke of Aquitaine, now surrounded by evil counsellors, was not inclined to trust to such assurances, remembering how little stability his father had shewn in regard to the donation of Aquitaine. Doubtless, too, the persuasions of Philip tended to anything but peace between the father and the son; and Richard paid no attention to his parent's summons.

* We have already had an example of this practice in the case of Henry II. and his eldest son, after their first reconciliation. It continued to be common in France down to the reign of Francis I. and Henry II. The last instance that I recollect at this moment is found in the extraordinary anecdote of the famous Francis, Duke of Guise, who, after defeating the Prince de Conde at the battle of Dreux, entertained him in his own tent, and shared his bed with him.

He did, indeed, at length quit the court of France, giving out that he was about to return to that of his father; but, instead of so doing, he passed through Touraine into Poictou, and pausing by the way at the castle of Chinon, took forcible possession of a great part of his father's treasure which was in that fortress. With the sum thus badly acquired he hastened to his own territories, where he supplied and strengthened his various castles in Poictou.

That this crime was perpetrated at the instigation of Philip, there can be but very little doubt; and although the historians of that day leave us in ignorance of what were the arguments made use of to lead the English prince to commit an act which was very little in accordance with his frank and generous character, we may suppose that Philip did not forget to remind Richard that Henry, when he restored Aquitaine and Poictou, had stripped and dismantled some of the castles in the latter territory, for the purpose of inducing the young duke to repair them from his father's own treasury.

However that might be, Richard soon repented of his disobedience, and returning to Henry's court, he renewed his oath of allegiance, and promised for the future to be guided by the counsels of his parent. The rest of the year 1187 was passed by Henry II. in endeavours to crush the germs of dissension which had shewn themselves in various parts of his vast dominions. A dispute had arisen, as we have

shewn, in regard to the guardianship of the daughter of Geoffrey, the king's son, by Constance of Britanny; and the birth of a posthumous son had but added to the importance of the office demanded by both Henry and Philip. The French king, however—on what account we do not know—seems to have abandoned a claim which was certainly as manifestly unjust as it was audaciously asserted. The nobles of Britanny, however, insisted upon retaining the custody of their own prince, and in despite of the English monarch's express command that the infant should be baptized by the name of Henry, they caused him to receive the name of Arthur, at the font, in honour of the fabulous monarch whom they believed to have reigned over them with so much glory and renown.*

Henry acted on this occasion with wise and temperate policy, vindicated his authority by chastising some of the Breton nobles, who had seized upon the castle of Montrelais and the adjacent territory upon the death of Geoffrey, but consented to leave the guardianship of the young prince Arthur in the hands of his mother Constance, with a proviso that she should take his advice in the government of

* Lord Lyttleton implies that Henry consented to this proceeding on the part of the Bretons, saying, "Their desire was gratified." But if we are to believe William of Newbury, book iii. chap. 7, they gratified themselves without waiting for Henry's consent to the change, and in direct opposition to his first commands.

the duchy. He then turned his attention to provide such a husband for the widowed princess as might attach her firmly to the crown of England; selecting for that purpose Ranulph, Earl of Chester, with whom her marriage was concluded in the year 1188.

The military spirit of Philip, and his animosity towards the King of England, were now displaying themselves more and more openly every day, and the birth of an heir to the throne of France, instead of disposing him to pacific counsels, seemed only to inspire him with the desire of signalizing the event by some great conquest. News from the Holy Land, however, reached Europe at this period, of so disastrous a character, that the enthusiasm which had slumbered, or roused itself but faintly, since the time of the first crusade, was re-awakened with all its original fire, and took possession of the minds of all men. Of the events which took place in Palestine, I shall have to give a full account hereafter, and it is only necessary now to say, that towards the end of the year 1177, letters from the East announced to the whole Christian world that the kingdom of Jerusalem was at the mercy of the enemy, and thus no bar any longer existed to the progress of the Infidel.

Urban the Pope, then in infirm health, was so deeply affected by the news, that he never recovered the shock, and dying in the end of October of the same year, was succeeded by Gregory VIII. All

the cardinals bound themselves to cast away every other consideration, and devote themselves entirely to preaching a new crusade; excommunication was threatened against those princes who should interrupt what was considered the great business of Christianity by private quarrels and hostilities; and the bishops and priests throughout Europe took the same tone, and from their pulpits exhorted all men to assume the symbol of the crusade, and hasten to the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre.

The zeal of the clergy was not less in France than in other parts of the Christian world, and the preaching of the Archbishop of Tours had such an effect upon Richard, that, without waiting for his father's sanction, he took the cross at once, (the first who did so in France,) an example which was followed by an immense number of knights and nobles of Aquitaine and Poictou. His father was astounded when the intelligence of his son's conduct reached him, and afterwards mildly reproved him for embarking in so great an undertaking without securing his approbation; promising at the same time, however, as the act was now done, to forward his purposes as far as possible.

It is probable, indeed, that, from many causes, Henry was not at all displeased at the prospect of being freed for the time from the presence of Richard, especially if, as there is little reason to doubt, the English monarch was by this time affected by a criminal passion towards the Princess Adelais.

Vainly imagining that he had placed his continental dominions in a state of security, Henry now proposed to return to England, from which country he had been absent for a considerable time; and after spending Christmas at Caen, he set out for Barfleur, to take ship for England, in the beginning of January, 1188. He had scarcely arrived at that port, however, when intelligence reached him that Philip had assembled an immense army upon the Norman frontier, and declared that he would ravage the transmarine territories of the English king, unless Gisors and its appurtenances were restored, or the Princess Adelais married to Richard forthwith.

Henry instantly retrod his steps, and once more held a conference with the French king, under a famous elm tree, between Gisors and Trie. Both princes were accompanied by all the principal nobles of their respective dominions, and by many of the clergy. The conferences commenced on the 21st day of January, and promised to be stormy; but the appearance at the meeting of William, Archbishop of Tyre, charged especially to preach a new crusade, and his eloquent exhortation to lay aside all other purposes, and at once engage in an enterprise which admitted of no farther delay, filled the people with zeal and religious fervour. The symbol of the cross was supposed to be seen in the clouds above the meeting; the two kings cast away the thoughts of private enmity; and all present eagerly took the cross, and devoted themselves to the re-

covery of the Holy Land. The number of the highest orders of the clergy and nobility who bound themselves to the enterprise was immense; and Rigordus mentions, amongst others, two archbishops, two bishops, two dukes, and thirteen counts, each possessing territories equal to a large and important province. Besides these, a multitude of the inferior nobility and knights of England, France, and Flanders assumed the badge of pilgrimage; the crosses of the French being red, those of the English white, and those of the Flemings green. In memory of the great event, the two kings raised a wooden cross upon the spot before they parted, named the ground the Holy Field, and founded a church there, as a monument of their reconciliation and devotion.

The two courts then separated, for the purpose of making preparations, and recourse was had to a tax, which acquired the name of Saladin's tithe, the whole people of both kingdoms, who did not bind themselves to take part in the expedition, being required to give a tenth, not only of their revenues, but also of all their goods and chattels, with the sole exception of the books and apparel of the clergy, and the plate and ornaments of churches.

In England, where we discover earlier than in any other country of the world, a philosophical spirit of internal polity modifying and correcting the enthusiasm of individuals and of epochs, means were taken to discourage the artificers, tradesmen, and yeomen from quitting the land; and a number of

excellent regulations were enacted, at the council of Gritington,* to prevent vice, luxury, irregularity, and want, such as had characterized the former crusades, from affecting the present expedition. Some licence, perhaps not strictly just, but of no very extravagant or iniquitous kind, was granted to persons oppressed with debt, or embarrassed by pecuniary difficulties; and every encouragement was given to the military part of the population to engage in the enterprise to which the king had pledged himself.

The tithe was exacted with great rigour; and it would seem that the Jews, who, holding no lands, could not be taxed upon their actual revenues, were pressed somewhat severely by the English monarch. They yielded, however, quietly, and gave about a fourth of their chattels, amounting to nearly a million of the money of the present day. Henry, indeed, was usually so tolerant to the persecuted race of Israel, that they might well be contented to submit to some oppression upon such an occasion as the present, especially as they had now no refuge in France, from which they had been expelled almost immediately after the accession of Philip Augustus.†

* 11th February, 1188. Gervaise, col. 1522. Hovedon calls the place Gaintington; and Gervaise, Gaitintune.

† Rigordus, A.D. 1182. The Jews had been previously permitted to acquire lands in France, which were all seized upon by Philip, and united to the domain of the crown.

The union, however, which had been produced by the preaching of the crusade was not destined to be of long duration, and the war was first renewed in Aquitaine by the brother of the King of Jerusalem. Geoffrey de Lusignan, born of a turbulent and treacherous race, followed the steps of his brother Guy,* entrapping and murdering, by base and deceitful means, one of the dearest friends of the young Duke of Aquitaine. Although he had solemnly taken the Cross, which bound the person who bore it to pursue no purposes of private revenge, Richard was not of a disposition to endure such an injury with calmness; and he instantly armed to punish Lusignan for the crime he had committed. The murderer, on his part, called to his aid such members of his family as were willing to assist him, and all those barons of Aquitaine who were instigated by ancient enmity to league with any adversary of the English prince. The whole forces, however, which could be thus collected were in no degree capable of resisting the power, or frustrating the skilful measures, of the young Duke of Aquitaine. Geoffrey himself was forced to fly from his territories, and seek refuge in the Holy Land; while the revolted barons were driven from place to place, and slain without mercy wherever

* Guy de Lusignan, at this time King of Jerusalem, had treacherously murdered the Earl of Salisbury in the year 1168, and had fled to the Holy Land, from the enmity and justice of Henry II.

they were found, unless they voluntarily assumed the sign of the cross, which proved in all cases the most certain refuge.

It is clear that Geoffrey and his companions had been supported in their crimes by the Count of Toulouse, who had aggravated that offence by some injuries which I shall state immediately; and as soon as the minor conspiracy in Aquitaine was crushed, Richard prepared to take vengeance upon the great vassal of his duchy with the same vigour and promptitude which he had displayed in punishing the inferior insurgents. The troops of the Brabancois were always at hand to aid those who would pay them; and Richard, finding that his own troops might not be sufficient for the more extended operations he was about to undertake, hired a body of these men to aid him in chastising his contumacious vassals. The account given by Hovedon of the early transactions of this war is characteristic both of the writer and of the persons of whom he speaks. "The same year, Richard Count of Poictou," he says, "the Count of St. Giles, Almeric Count of Angouleme, Geoffrey de Rancun, and Geoffrey de Lusignan, and almost all the great men of Poictou, made war all against the aforesaid Richard, and he against all of them; yet he overcame all."*

* Hovedon, p. 642. For the events which took place in Aquitaine during this war, see Hovedon, pp. 642, 643; Benedict Abbas, ad ann. 1188; Diceto, col. 639; and for the pro-

Not warned by the uniform result of all previous contests with the young English prince, the Count of Toulouse had, some time before, seized upon a body of peaceful merchants, natives of Aquitaine, cast them into prison, and treated them with the utmost barbarity, putting some to death, and blinding others. He is reported to have been instigated to this act by the counsels of a favourite, named Peter Seillun,* who, in the contest between Richard and Lusignan, fell into the hands of the former, and was cast into a dungeon, where he was treated, it would seem, with much severity. The Count of Toulouse demanded that he should be put to ransom, but Richard either refused to admit him to ransom, or fixed the amount so high, that the count could not afford to pay it for the deliverance of his favourite. In retaliation, the latter seized upon two knights of the household of the King of England, named Robert Poer and his brother Ralph, who were returning from a pilgrimage to the Shrine of St. James, of Compostella, and having captured them as they passed through his territories, he gave Richard to understand that he would not set them free till his favourite was at liberty. Richard replied at once, that he would neither offer prayers nor

ceedings of the King of France, compare Rigordus and William the Armorican with the English historians.

* The History of Langudoc, by Dom Bouquet, calls him Peter Saissun.

ransom for them, inasmuch as the count was bound to free them, on account of the pilgrimage in which they were engaged. The King of France, to whom the count had applied for aid, likewise interfered, and commanded him to open their prison gates at once, out of reverence to St. James of Compostella. The count obeyed, as Hovedon observes, not out of any reverence for St. James, but on account of an enormous ransom which he exacted from his prisoners; and Richard, entering the territories of Toulouse, ravaged the country with fire and sword, reduced the towns of Cahors and Moissac, and captured seventeen strong places in the immediate neighbourhood of Toulouse itself.

Three circumstances worthy of remark attended this warfare. In the first place, Richard, as a crusader, was, properly speaking, bound to abstain from all hostilities against his brother Christians. This regulation, however, had unfortunately never yet been followed. The stricter rule, however, which forbade crusaders from slaying each other in war, the young English prince obeyed, extending mercy to all who took the sign of the cross, even during his first furious pursuit of Geoffrey de Lusignan, at a time when he gave no quarter to the accomplices of the murderer of his friend. In the second place, we are told, Richard uniformly declared, and even sent word to his father, that throughout the whole of these proceedings he acted with the con-

sent, and by the advice of, the King of France;* and at the same time we find that there was a strong suspicion, if not a conviction, in men's mind, that Geoffrey de Lusignan and his turbulent confederates were supported in their rebellion by money and other assistance from the King of England.†

The whole of this part of the prince's history is extremely obscure, and I find no explanation whatever of the fact, that while the young Duke of Aquitaine was positively and openly asserting that he acted entirely by the advice of the King of France, Philip was arming in defence of the Count of Toulouse, and making vehement remonstrances to the King of England in regard to the invasion of his territories. In these remonstrances he once more assumed that the county of Toulouse was a fief of his crown, although the question had been debated and settled many years before. He asserted that Richard had entered the territories of France without a declaration of war; and he paid not the slightest attention to the fact that the Count of Toulouse had actually done homage to Henry, and made him an annual acknowledgment of the feudal

* Hovedon, p. 643.

† Diceto, col. 639. The learned Dean of St. Paul's, from whose contemporary pen we have this account, and who visited the scene of war while hostilities were still going on, assures us that it was Henry's conduct on this occasion which alienated Richard completely from his father,—"Hac de causa comes animum suum alienavit a patre."

subjection of Toulouse to the Dukes of Aquitaine. All this is strange, but it is still more strange that we should find no account of Henry having justified the conduct of his son by putting forth his undoubted claim to Toulouse as a fief of Aquitaine.

Philip scarcely waited for the English monarch's reply;* but having already, it would seem, entered into some secret negotiations with the nobles of Berri, he advanced at the head of a large force into that province, and partly by threats, partly by force, and partly by intrigue, he made himself master of Chateauroux, Buzancois, Argenton, and several other places, amongst which Leuroux and Montrichard underwent a regular siege.† Vendome

* The King of England's answer simply was, that Richard's invasion of the county of Toulouse had been undertaken without his knowledge or consent, but that the Duke of Aquitaine assured him it was with the privity of the King of France. Hovedon, p. 643.

† The account of the French historians, Rigord and William the Breton, in regard to Henry being with his army in Berri at this period, and flying before the King of France, is unworthy of any consideration, as there is distinct proof that Henry was during the whole of this time in England, not having quitted the shores of Great Britain till the 11th of July, 1188, (see Hovedon, p. 644); before which time the whole of Berri, with the exception of Loches, had submitted, and Vendome and its territory had been voluntarily given up to the King of France by its Lord, Burchard of Vendome, Philip having taken Chateauroux on the 16th June (see Diceto, col. 639). Negotiations had also been entered into between ambassadors on the part of the King of England and the King of France, and it was only

and its territory were willingly surrendered by its lord; and the news suddenly reached Henry that Berri, Auvergne, and Vendome, forming a fine and important part of his territories, were already in the hands of the French King. In reply to Henry's remonstrances, Philip asserted that he had committed this aggression in retaliation for Richard's attack upon Toulouse; and shewing himself deaf to the exhortations and representations of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Lincoln, whom Henry sent to remind him of the sacred engagements which he had violated, he compelled the English king unwillingly to take arms against him.

Hastening his preparations as much as possible, Henry ordered a large body of the Welsh to follow him, and crossing the sea to France on the 11th of July, 1188, he proceeded at once to Alençon, where he gathered together the forces of Normandy and Anjou. Before his arrival, however, Richard, at the head of the army of Aquitaine, which had been reinforced by some troops of Brabançois, marched to encounter Philip in Berri. But that monarch, instead of waiting for his approach, rétired into his own territories,* leaving one of his most famous

upon finding that Philip was determined to persist in war, that Henry quitted this island to meet him in the field. Dates are stubborn things which cannot be got over, and the dates prove that the account of the two French historians is utterly unworthy of any credit.

* Hovedon, p. 644.

knights, William de Barres, in Chateauroux. Richard, however, swept the open country without meeting any important resistance, laid waste the territories of those lords who had traitorously gone over to France, captured a great number of them, and took the strong fortress of Les Roches, in the neighbourhood of Vendome. In the meanwhile, Philip and his partisans continued to ravage the frontiers of Normandy; the Bishop of Beauvais burnt the town of Blangi, and destroyed the castle of Aumale, while the king, at the head of another body, advanced from the side of Vendome, and destroyed the small town of Troo upon the Loir.* Henry then, having been joined by his Welsh forces, formally summoned Philip to restore what had been taken, and on his refusing to do so, abjured his homage, and defied him according to the feudal law of the time.

As soon as this ceremony was gone through, the English king put himself at the head of his troops, and entered France, on Tuesday, the 30th of August, marching straight towards Mantes on the Seine, where Philip was then said to be. As he went he took and utterly destroyed a number of French

* This place has been confounded with Nogent le Rotrou by many historians; but Hovedon and the French writers define its position so exactly, that there can be no doubt of what town they mean. It appears to have been taken after the arrival of Henry in Normandy, and it must be remembered that the neighbouring river is the Loir, not the Loire.

cities, and the destruction must have been great indeed, from the lamentation which is poured forth upon the occasion by the French historians. William the Breton counts fifteen towns which were burnt to the ground in the progress of the English king; but Mantes proved a stumbling-block in his way, and he did not attempt the siege of that city.

In the neighbourhood of Mantes, Richard and the Earl of Albemarle, who, it would seem, had advanced with a small party before the rest of the army, encountered the famous William de Barres, Dreux de Mellot, and a body of other knights and gentlemen attached to the court of the King of France. The numbers would seem to have been very nearly equal on both sides; but Richard and de Barres singled each other out, and a combat ensued between them, which has been rendered memorable, as the first instance, in regard to which we have any details, displaying the great personal prowess of the future Monarch of England. The French and the English narratives differ in various particulars; but it is evident that this was one of those encounters in which the renown of each of the combatants made him more than usually eager to overcome his adversary. The French account is contained in a poem by William the Breton, which I have already shown to be unworthy of credit in point of facts, although very valuable as delineating the manners and customs of the day. The poet, also, was not yet at the court of France, and was only in

his twenty-second year when these events took place. The principal English historian who mentions this combat is Hovedon, who, there is every reason to believe, accompanied the King of England, as his chaplain in his expedition,* and who was at the time collecting materials for his history. His account is confirmed by other English writers, and the more we study his chronicle, the more accurate does it appear.

The French poet declares that Richard, finding he could not overthrow de Barre's by other means, killed his horse, but that the French knight starting up at once, struck the young Duke of Aquitaine to the ground with one blow of his sword, slaying the prince's charger with another. Why he did not kill the prince himself, or make him prisoner, the poet does not satisfactorily explain. His friends and attendants coming up, we are told by the poet, raised him from underneath his horse, terribly bruised and injured by his fall. He had, nevertheless, strength enough left, the Armorican continues, to attack de Barres again, and being assailed while so doing by another famous French knight, Hugh d'Alencurie, he turned upon the latter, into whose mouth are put some very coarse expressions, and very speedily compelled him to fly. Accord-

* Many causes exist for believing that Hovedon was present during the English invasion of France; amongst which is the fact, that contrary to his usual custom, he names the days of the week on which the various events took place.

ing to the poet, the French recovered their ground, William de Barres found a fresh horse, and renewed the combat, and towards the evening the English fled.*

The account of Hovedon is much simpler, and undoubtedly more accurate. He says that William de Barres, and some others, with a few French knights, encountered Richard, William de Mandeville, and several others of the household of the King of England. William de Barres, he continues, was taken by Richard, and granted his parole, otherwise, pledged his faith not to escape. While the English knights, however, were engaged in dealing with the rest of their adversaries, William de Barres contrived to mount a horse belonging to one of his pages, and made his escape from the field of battle.

To the mind of the historian, calmly considering the authority of the two writers, there can be no doubt as to which statement is correct; but I have given both, in order that the reader may choose between the two.†

* The poet puts a speech in the mouth of de Barres, who speaks of Richard as standing in the plain, waiting for his opponents, "like a tower of iron," and says he knows him by "the lion's teeth on his shield."

† It is curious to compare the bombast which characterizes the French historians, even in that day, with the calm and simple narrative of the English chroniclers. Gervase, indeed, seems to have caught the spirit, and even borrowed much from the statements of the French.

Finding that Mantes was strongly garrisoned, and that Philip, who was in that city, did not come forth to give him battle, Henry marched to Ivry, and lay upon the frontiers of his own territories, watching the movements of his adversary, and committing lamentable ravages in the adjacent districts of France. Richard, in the meantime, retired into Berri, in order to recover as much of the province from the hands of Philip as possible; and the French monarch finding that he was suffering far more by the war than his adversary, sent envoys to the English king, offering terms of peace, the minute particulars of which we do not know, though the main point proposed, we are informed, was the restoration of Berri and the rest of the captured territory. A meeting was appointed at the old place of conference between Gisors and Trie; and Henry, who was first on the field, it would seem, stationed himself, with the small force which accompanied him, under the beautiful tree called the elm of the conference, which has been previously mentioned. The French monarch and his companions, we are told by William the Armorican, were left exposed to the rays of the sun, and were subjected to some unpleasant raillery on the part of the English knights. Philip, after the discussions had been protracted three days, at length giving way to a temper naturally impatient, broke off the negotiations, attacked the King of England with superior numbers, drove him into the castle of

Gisors, and cut down the spreading elm which had afforded shelter from the sun to the councils of so many monarchs.*

The representations of the clergy, and a sense of the scandal which such dissensions amongst persons who had already taken the cross, could not but produce, caused the Count of Blois, the Count of Flanders, and a number of other nobles of France to lay down their arms, about this time, and declare they would support neither party. Another conference was held in October,† and it was proposed on the part of France that a general restitution of all places taken during the war should be made on both sides, and that the Castle of Passy should be placed in the hands of Philip as a security. Henry, however, refused to give up that place as a pledge, and Richard objected strongly to restore the towns which he had captured from his rebellious vassal, the Count of Toulouse, from which he already received considerable revenues.

* The fact of the destruction of the elm, and the violence of the King of France, is mentioned by all contemporaries. It is William the Armorican, however, who, in his Life of Philip Augustus, mentions that king's attack upon Henry while in peaceful conference. There is some doubt as to the date of this meeting, and the order of events. Hovedon places it after Henry's entrance into France, on the 30th August, 1188; but Diceto dates it 16th August, and before the march upon Mantes.

† "In crastino Sanctæ Fides,"—i. e., 7th October. Hovedon, 645.

The conferences thus ended without producing peace; and Philip, who found that he could not trust to his vassals for support, hired a force of Brabancois, and carried on a desultory warfare against the King of England, till his mercenaries mutinied for their pay. The King of France on this occasion displayed one of those peculiar traits of his character which marked him from all the monarchs of his race. Politic as well as revengeful, and ardent though crafty, he often made his passions serve the purposes of his policy, while his policy never neglected the gratification of his passions. Angry at being checked in his course by the greediness of his mercenaries, but concealing his anger with the greatest skill, Philip persuaded them to march to the town of Bourges, by a promise of paying them all that he owed them. In that city, however, he had at command a strong force of native troops; and, on their arrival, the Brabançois were suddenly seized, stripped of their arms, their horses and their money, and turned out, almost naked, into the fields.*

The winter was now approaching, and with it hostilities ceased between the two monarchs; but a greater difficulty than any which he had yet met with since the commencement of the war was soon cast in the way of the King of England. We learn from the monk, Gervase,† that a report was rife at this time that Henry II. intended to exclude his eldest son, Richard, from the succession to the

* Hovedon, 645. † Gervasius, col. 1530.

throne, and to bestow the crown upon John. This statement has been passed over with very little notice; but, nevertheless, we must recollect that Gervase was a contemporary living in England; and although one of the most malignant enemies of Henry II., he is not the less to be trusted, on that account, in regard to the rumours of the day. Such a report naturally irritated and alarmed Richard, who was already impressed with the belief that his father had encouraged the revolt of his vassals in Aquitaine,* and now began a series of demands on his part, which he was undoubtedly justified in making, but which ended in a complete alienation of the son from the father. Lord Lyttleton says that this report was certainly false, but he assigns no reason for so confidently believing that it was so; and the obstinacy with which Henry refused to give any security whatsoever that he did not entertain the intention imputed to him, must leave some obscurity upon the subject even to the calm eyes of posterity, while, coupled with the rumours then current, it necessarily created in Richard at the time a conviction that his father intended to exclude him from the throne.

Whether this rumour had already reached the ears of Richard we know not, but immediately after the conference of October, the Duke of Aquitaine offered to submit his quarrel with the Count of Toulouse to the Court of Peers of France; a concession with which Henry might well be displeased,

* Dicoto, col. 639.

as Richard held his duchy by homage of him. Shortly after began those applications on the part of the monarch's son, which we have mentioned, for security in his rights; and the first demand was, that as Adelais was now of a marriageable age, his union with her should immediately take place. But Henry still contrived to evade that reasonable request, though what excuse he made we are not told. Richard next required that, according to the common custom of the times, his father should cause the barons of England and of his continental territories to take the oath of fealty to him as heir-apparent to the throne. I do not feel sure, however, that this demand was made previously to a conference between the monarchs of France and England which took place at Bon Moulin, towards the end of the year 1188.*

That meeting was attended by a number of the clergy and the nobility of both realms, and Philip offered that if Henry would immediately conclude the marriage of his son with the Princess

* Lord Lyttleton says that this conference took place on the eighth of November; Hovedon is made to fix the nineteenth of August, or the fourteenth calends of September by the printed copy. Neither of these dates, however, is correct, that in Hovedon being clearly a typographical error, by which September has been substituted for December. The XIV. calends of December brings the date to the 18th of November, which is shown to be correct by comparing it with the date given by Diceto—namely, the Octaves of St. Martin, which falls also on the 18th of November.

Adelais, and would suffer his barons to take the oath of fealty to the prince as heir-apparent to the throne, he would restore all that he had taken during the war. To this proposal Henry gave a naked refusal, but, nevertheless, during the first day, we are told the conference passed quietly.* On the second, high words began to take place, and on the third, menaces and reproaches ran so high, that the knights were seen to lay their hands upon their swords. A truce was, nevertheless, agreed upon till the day of St. Hilary following; which being settled, and quiet restored in the assembly, Richard addressed his father in the midst of the circle of nobles and clergy which surrounded the two kings at a respectful distance, begging him to give him some security of his succession as heir to the throne. Henry, we are told, made an artful but unsatisfactory answer, and Richard, after many entreaties, exclaimed, "I now perceive that what I imagined to be incredible, is probably true!" and immediately turning to the King of France, he unbuckled his sword, placed his hands in those of that monarch, and did homage for all the territories held by the crown of England in France, saving his father's rights during his life and his own fealty to Henry.† The English king beheld this

* Gervase, col. 1536.

† Diceto mentions particularly the saving clause in the act of homage; but he, Hovedon, and Gervase, all agree that it was

proceeding with consternation and dismay; and the meeting broke up in confusion.

Henry, retiring into Aquitaine, endeavoured to put that province into a state of defence against his son; while Geoffrey, his natural child, by Rosamond Clifford, was left in charge of Anjou and the neighbouring districts. Philip and Richard, on their part, prepared to assert in arms the claims they had made as soon as the truce was at an end; and the French king restored at once to the young Duke of Aquitaine the towns of Chateauroux and Issodun, with a considerable part of Berri.

The English monarch passed the winter at Saumur, but while he remained in that place, he had the mortification of seeing a great number of his nobles go over to Richard and Philip, upon whose side there could be no doubt the right lay in the present quarrel. No sooner was the festival of St. Hilary past than the confederate princes entered the territories of Henry, supported by a large body of Bretons, who had joined their party; but their operations on this occasion were confined to some insignificant ravages, and a fresh truce was concluded soon after Easter by the mediation of a cardinal legate. Both kings now agreed to submit to the arbitration of the legate himself, joined with the Archbishops of Canterbury, Rheims, Rouen, and

for the whole possessions of his father on the continent that Richard did homage; and Gervase adds, that he besought Philip to give him aid in asserting his rights.

Bourges; and a conference was appointed to be held at Le Ferté Bernard, during the week of Pentecost. The meeting accordingly took place; and Philip reiterated the demands he had made before; adding a stipulation, that Prince John should likewise take the cross. Henry, however, had prepared one of his cunning evasions, proposing once more that Adelais should be married to his son John instead of to Richard.* This change of arrangement Philip at once rejected, and the conference broke up without the establishment of peace.

It had been agreed that whoever resisted the decree of the umpires should undergo excommunication; but that sentence was not pronounced against any of the parties. The legate, indeed, threatened to lay the whole of France under interdict in case Philip did not accede to the proposal of the English monarch. But the King of France answered boldly, that he feared not such a sentence, nor would submit to it, as it was not founded in equity; that it did not belong to the church of Rome to meddle by decrees or in any other manner with the affairs of France, when the king of that country took arms to avenge upon unworthy vassals and rebels to his sway the evils they had committed, and to defend

* Lord Lyttleton gives a different version of this transaction. He says that it was Richard who required John should take the cross; and he makes no mention of Henry's proposal to substitute John for Richard in the contract with Adelais; yet the words of Hovedon are precise.

the honour of his crown. He added, with contempt, that the legate had smelt the King of England's sterlings.

War was immediately renewed. The forces of Henry, now divided with Richard, could ill defend his territories against the united power of his son and the King of France, and he hastened to make fresh levies. But before that object could be effected, Philip and Richard had entered Maine, and had taken a great number of strong places in the north of that province. Henry, anxious for the capital of the county, cast himself into the town of Mans, with his natural son Geoffrey, and a force fully sufficient for its defence. The King of France and the Duke of Aquitaine, however, then made a demonstration upon Tours, and it would seem that the precautions of the English king in regard to Mans were in some degree relaxed, when suddenly the allied princes turned upon the latter city when they were least expected. No sooner was their approach descried, than Stephen of Tours, Seneschal of Anjou, set fire to the suburbs, in order to prevent the French from lodging themselves therein; but, as if every accident was destined to favour the adversaries of the English king, the flames were carried by the wind over the walls into the city, and the houses of the town itself caught fire.*

* Hovedon, p. 652. Diceto says that the King of France and Richard found the gates of the city open.

Marking this catastrophe, Philip and Richard hastened forwards towards the stone bridge which one of Henry's officers, with a large body of men, was in the act of breaking down. A tremendous fight now took place for the passage, but the commander of the English was wounded and taken prisoner, his men put to flight; and the troops of the allies entered the city with them.

The flames were now raging with terrific violence, in spite of all that Geoffrey, the king's natural child, aided by the townspeople and the soldiery, could do to extinguish them; and it became evident to Henry that he must evacuate the town, and fly before his son and the French monarch. This he effected with a body of seven hundred horse, and a considerable number of Welsh foot; but the enemy's men-at-arms followed, overtook and slaughtered a multitude of the Welsh, and would have made Henry himself prisoner, had he not crossed the river Huines by a ford unknown to the pursuers. He thus reached the Castle of Fresnelles, where he passed the night in great trepidation. His affectionate son Geoffrey offered to remain without, to guard the castle, in case of an attack, but Henry would not suffer him, after all the fatigues he had undergone, to expose himself further, and made him come in and lie upon his own bed.

On the following morning the English king pursued his way into Anjou, causing the principal nobles who were with him to swear that they would

deliver the Duchy of Normandy to John in case of his death. He likewise despatched his natural son Geoffrey to lead all the forces which could be spared to Alençon, for the defence of the important territory adjacent. Geoffrey was directed to return and join him as soon as Normandy was put into a complete state of defence; but that gallant gentleman did not effect his junction with his father without great difficulty, as the progress of Richard and the French king had been so rapid as almost to cut off, in the course of a few weeks, his communication with Touraine, towards which province Henry was now bending his steps.

Amboise and a number of important cities fell into the hands of the allies early in June, and on the twenty-third of that month the city of Tours was also captured, in consequence of the waters of the Loire having sunk so low as to enable the French army to ford it with ease. The stone bridge had been broken down on the approach of Philip, but that monarch remarking that the waters were very low, entered the stream on horseback, and sounded it with his own lance. He then caused the shallowest passage to be discovered, and marked out by two spears planted in the stream. Between these his whole forces passed over, and even before the battering engines could be brought to bear against the city, some of the troops had scaled the walls, which were low on the side of the river, so that Tours was captured with scarcely any resistance. No excesses were com-

mitted; the unresisting citizens were spared; and the military garrison, which had taken refuge in the citadel, surrendered, and were made prisoners of war.

Distressed in mind* and ill in body, Henry II. lay for some time inactive at Saumur, while Philip and Richard pursued their conquests in Maine and Touraine. On the day before the fall of Tours, the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Archbishop of Rheims, visited the English monarch, in order to propose terms of pacification between him, Philip, and Richard. We are assured that they were not actually sent by the King of France, but merely had his consent to mediate; and his success against the capital of Touraine, which was known very shortly after their arrival at Saumur, induced Henry immediately to accept their proposal for a new conference between him and his adversary.

A place was appointed, and the two sovereigns, with the Duke of Aquitaine, met on the twenty-eighth of June in the neighbourhood of Tours, where a peace was concluded upon more favourable terms than the English monarch might have expected. The principal points agreed upon were,

* We are assured by William of Newbury that Henry was by this time aware of the defection of John; and the words of that historian (lib. III. cap. 25) strongly confirm the rumour mentioned by Gervase, that it was the intention of Henry to deprive Richard of his inheritance, and bestow it upon his favourite son.

that Adelais should return to France, and be given into the custody of one of five persons, whom Richard should choose. That she should be married to the Duke immediately on his return from the Holy Land. That the king should give twenty thousand marks of silver to the King of France for the expenses of the war; and that Richard should remain in possession either of Mons, Tours, and two other strong places, or of Gisors, Passy, and Nonancourt, at the choice of the King of England, till such time as all the articles of the treaty were fulfilled. The English and Norman barons also were required to guarantee the good faith of Henry, binding themselves to go over to Richard and the King of France if their sovereign violated the conditions.

It was remarked that while the two monarchs were conferring, a tremendous clap of thunder was heard, and the lightning struck the ground between them without hurting either. The conference was in consequence broken off for a short time; but as soon as it was resumed, the thunder recommenced more violently than before, agitating the shattered nerves of the King of England so much, that he would have fallen from his horse had he not been supported by his attendants.

On signing the treaty, Henry, we are assured, demanded that a list should be given to him of such of his knights and nobles as had openly or in secret joined the party of Richard and Philip. This was

accordingly done by the French king, and to Henry's horror he beheld at the head of the list, the name of his youngest and favourite child, John.* This terrible information proved fatal to the King of England. The illness under which he already suffered immediately assumed a fatal character, and cursing the day that he was born, he retired to Chinon, where, calling down the vengeance of God upon his sons, and refusing to retract the malediction, he died on the sixth of July, 1189, having reigned thirty-four years, seven months, and four days.†

* This incident may have received some embellishment at the hands of historians, but it is perfectly clear that John had joined in the rebellion of his brother, and that his ingratitude aggravated the illness of the king. "Johannes filius ejus qui mortis suæ occasio, immo causa præcipua fuerat," says Brompton, col. 1154.

† Hovedon, p. 654.

BOOK X.

THE death of Henry II., which was accelerated by the base ingratitude of his youngest legitimate son, was soothed by the tender devotion of one of his illegitimate offspring. Geoffrey, the chancellor, remained with him to the last, and shewed, in the hour when all men abandoned him, the same deep and heartfelt affection which every action of his life had testified. Not so the hireling creatures of the monarch's pleasures, and the ministers of his policy. They watched with eager eyes the rapid approach of death, longing for the time when his treasures should be no longer guarded by his own vigilance, and the instant that the last sigh had parted from his lips, one of those awful scenes of plunder and desertion commenced which have so frequently surrounded the death-bed of men who have been prosperous without being respected.*

* Hovedon, p. 654.

The words of Hovedon do not admit a doubt that for a time even the higher personages in attendance upon him abandoned the dead body of their monarch, and gave themselves up to the same spirit of rapine as the rest.* At length, however, his ministers returned, and prepared for the ceremony of his funeral. The body was carried, according to a wish he had expressed, to the church of Fontevrault to be there interred. On the way, the solemn procession was met by Richard himself, who, repenting too late of his recent rebellion, now wept bitterly over the bier of a father, whose faults, we may well suppose, were forgotten by his son in that hour of sorrow and remorse, and whose high qualities as a monarch were long remembered both by his subjects and his allies.

In that age, few great events took place without some accompanying portent, the fruit of the quick imagination of superstition. On the present occasion, we find it recorded, that at the approach of the prince, the dead body of his father emitted blood from the nostrils; but notwithstanding this mark of antipathy even in the inanimate clay, Richard assumed the place of chief mourner, and accompanied the corpse to Fontevrault.†

The funeral of the late king having been performed, the young monarch immediately proceeded

* See also Brompton, who says that for some time the body of the king was left perfectly naked.

† Brompton, col. 1151.

to inquire into the malpractices which had taken place at the time of his father's death; and the great weight of his indignation seems to have fallen upon Stephen of Tours,* seneschal of Anjou, who, it would appear, acted as treasurer in Henry's continental dominions during the last few months of his reign. Whether he formally refused to yield to his new sovereign the fortresses which had been placed in his custody and the treasures which had been committed to his care, or whether he was supposed to have made away with any part of the latter, I do not discover; but certain it is, that Richard threw him into prison, loaded him with chains, and did not set him at liberty till he had paid a heavy fine, surrendered the castles, and given up the effects of Henry to the rightful heir.

We have been accustomed to consider this period as a very dark and barbarous one; and we shall have hereafter to notice several events in which the sanguinary spirit of an uncivilized state of society manifested itself in a striking manner. But we must not omit to remark, in this place, the general lenity experienced by persons taken in actual resistance to the sovereign authority. In the many civil wars of this period, in the revolt of princes, nobles, and cities against their monarchs, we rarely if ever find the punishment of death applied to the

* This personage is called Stephanus de Marzai, by Richard of Devizes, who describes him as "Magnus et potens, singulariter ferus, et dominus domini sui."

offenders, even when captured with arms in their hands; and Richard, notwithstanding that remorseless fierceness which was undoubtedly one of the great blots on his character, in almost all instances shewed himself particularly mild and placable towards those who had personally injured him. In these times we find that imprisonment, generally for a short period, together with a pecuniary fine, or a temporary sequestration of estates, was the usual punishment of rebellion. It was reserved for an after period to introduce a more sanguinary code, and from the middle of the subsequent century, the severe laws of high treason were gradually enforced and aggravated, so that epochs which appear in other respects civilized, when compared with those of which we speak, were daily disgraced by the dark scenes of the block and axe, till at length the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stand forth amongst the bloodiest in our annals. The comparative moderation which we find in the reign of Richard and Henry, may perhaps be ascribed, in some degree, to certain peculiarities in the feudal code. The law recognised cases, in which the vassal was justified in resisting his sovèreign even in arms, and it was not always quite easy to ascertain the limits of this right. As the services, also, of the feudatories depended in a degree upon the affection they bore their monarch, and as they could only be called upon to fight his battles during a certain period, and under fixed conditions, it would have been by no

means politic in any sovereign to disgust his nobles by a very vengeful exercise of his power. But still, a great deal of the lenity with which subdued insurgents were treated must be ascribed to the habits of the day, and the character of the individuals. We find no blood spilt by Richard on his accession to the throne; and in dealing with those who had been in rebellion against him in his character of Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine, it is clearly proved that his vengeance seldom went farther than in rasing the walls of those places which had been fortified for the purpose of resisting his authority.*

After punishing Stephen of Tours, and forcing from his greedy hands the treasures of the late king, Richard hastened from Chinon to Seez, in Normandy, where he was met by the Archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen, from whom he solicited and received absolution for the offence he had committed, not alone in making war upon his father, but in so doing after he had taken the cross.† He then proceeded to Rouen, for the ceremony of his investiture as Duke of Normandy, which was performed in the cathedral, the Archbishop binding

* Diceto, col. 675.

† Diceto lays great stress upon the fact of Richard's having taken the cross, leaving it very doubtful whether he would have looked upon his rebellion against his father as any offence at all, if it had not been committed when he was pledged to the holy war. His words are—"Sed quia post crucem susceptam arma moverat contra patrem a prædictis archiepiscopis," &c.

on the ducal sword in the presence of the assembled bishops and nobles, on the day of St. Margaret the Virgin and Martyr, being the 20th July, 1189. The principal barons of Normandy then did homage to their new sovereign; and on the same day he bestowed the hand of his niece, the daughter of the Duke of Saxony, upon the son of the Count of La Perche. It would seem that a sense of propriety restrained the young monarch, both on the occasion of the homage of his nobles, and on the marriage of his niece, from indulging that taste for pageantry and display which so strongly marked the age; for the death of his own father, under the painful circumstances which had accompanied it, was yet fresh upon the minds of all men, and that of his sister, the mother of the bride, was even still more recent.

It is probable, however, that the marriage, as well as the homage, was hastened by political motives; for the relations of Richard with his ally, the French monarch, were of course greatly changed by his accession to the throne of England and to the ducal chair of Normandy; and the time was rapidly approaching when it might become necessary to enter into discussions with Philip Augustus, in which the support of obedient subjects, and united dominions, would be of no slight importance to the British prince.

Three days after the ceremony of his investiture, Richard proceeded to meet the French monarch,

between Chaumont and Trie,* on the confines of their several dominions; and numerous questions immediately arose, which might have been settled with very great difficulty, had not Philip Augustus shewn a degree of generous moderation which, unfortunately, he did not always display in his dealings with his fellow sovereigns. One of his first claims was, that the fortress of Gisors should be restored to France; but to this demand Richard positively refused to accede, alleging that not only injury, but eternal shame would fall upon him if he thus consented to dismember his dominions. Philip, it would seem, did not press his application, and Richard, on his part, agreed to increase the sum of twenty thousand marks of silver which his father had promised, in the treaty that immediately preceded his death, by the addition of four thousand more,† which was certainly by no means a full equivalent for the important place which the French monarch had required.

It would appear from the account of Hovedon,

* This Chaumont is a small town on the Troesne, in the road from Beauvais to Chars, a very few miles from Gisors.

† Brompton points out that these four thousand marks were given in payment of Philip's expenses, which is not stated by Hovedon. In regard to the authority of Brompton, see the observations upon that author in the first and second volumes of this work. Gervase gives a very different account of the whole affair; but his testimony is not to be put in comparison with that of Hovedon and others, who distinctly state the facts as above related.

indeed, that Philip had not restricted himself to the demand of Gisors, but had proposed to the English sovereign a list of concessions "too long to be singly enumerated;" but the same author says that the gift of the additional sum, small as it was, completely gained the grace and affection of the French monarch, who immediately gave up to Richard all that he had taken from his father—castles as well as cities, and other fortresses, manors, and strong places.

The whole business of a conference, at which some of the most important points which then affected the policy of Europe were to be discussed, passed off without the slightest dissension, and in the most amicable manner. The tone of the English monarch, we are told, was so moderate, kind, and generous towards all men, that it won universal esteem and regard. He seems, with very few exceptions, to have pardoned all offences, to have bestowed numerous rewards upon his friends and supporters; and not only to have confirmed all that Henry had proposed to do in favour of John, but to have promised additional boons, which kindly engagement towards his brother his after generosity far exceeded. Nor was his conduct towards the attached and faithful friends of his father less marked by just and noble feeling; almost all of them remained in office, and every one who had shewn real attachment to Henry, even in opposition to himself, had reason to feel that their services to the dead

had won the respect and regard of the living monarch.*

Thus when he met his illegitimate brother, Geoffrey, who had been so lately his rival in military renown and his adversary in arms, Richard received him with kindness and affection, and immediately nominated him to the Archbishopric of York, according to a wish expressed by Henry on his death-bed. So different was this conduct from that which had been expected, and so well satisfied were the friends of the deceased monarch that the following saying, we find, was in the mouths of all men :—

" Mira canam, sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est."

Nor were such acts of grace and bounty confined to his continental dominions; but before he noticed any one else in England, the thoughts of Richard turned towards his mother, who had been so long experiencing in a prison, not only the consequences of her own follies and errors, but the unhappy results of having survived her husband's affections. An immediate order was sent to Winchester to set her at liberty; and issuing forth from a state of confinement which had now lasted, with a very short interval, for nearly sixteen years,† she assumed at

* Hovedon, p. 655. Illos vero, qui patri suo fideliter servierunt, secum retinuit et multis bonis ditavit.

† She was first arrested towards the middle of the year 1173, the day is not mentioned. (See Gervase, col. 1424.) She was then liberated for a short period in the year 1185, and

once, by her son's command, the power and authority of regent during his absence.

Eleanor's first act was to proceed from town to town, throwing open the gates of the prisons, and sending envoys into every county of England, to set free "for the repose of her husband's soul" all persons who were held in captivity. Such are the words of a contemporary historian, but it is probable that he referred in this passage principally to prisoners for political offences, as the same writer speaks immediately afterwards, of a number of others who were suffering imprisonment but were evidently not those to whom he had previously alluded. The prisons of England were at this time crowded, and many of the inmates of the jails had been committed by the ordinary courts. Of these a large part were charged with breaches of the severe forest laws, and were consequently objects of much compassion in the eyes of the people. In regard to the political offenders, it is possible that Eleanor, fresh from the sorrows of long confinement, and rejoicing in a sudden and unexpected restoration to liberty, acted merely upon the impulse of her own sympathies, without waiting for the directions of her son. But it was by Richard's own order, we are informed, that she

accompanied her daughter, Matilda Duchess of Saxony, into Normandy, but was confined again in the castle of Winchester, towards the end of April or the beginning of May, 1186, on what account does not appear.

set free all persons imprisoned for infractions of the forest code, and published a general amnesty in favour of all forest outlaws.

Those criminals, too, who had been arrested or outlawed for offences committed against the king or his fisc, received pardon; but a marked distinction, which has been overlooked by almost all writers, was made by Richard between persons in these peculiar circumstances, and those who were detained either upon charges cognizable by the common law of the land, or upon appeal. These were not indiscriminately set free as has been so generally stated, and the accusations which have been urged against Richard by Berington and others upon this false foundation are perfectly unjust and groundless. The royal grace certainly was extended in a degree to all criminals; but those who were actually in prison, or had been outlawed on account of offences against the person or property of their fellow-subjects were called upon, before they were liberated, or had their outlawry reversed, to find bail for their appearance to answer the charges against them at an after period; and various other conditions and restrictions were enforced to guard against any danger from the great act of clemency which ushered in this monarch's reign. Thus, all convicted malefactors, towhom the sentence of death or mutilation had been remitted, were commanded to quit the dominions of Richard; and others, though apparently few in number, charged with particular

crimes, not very clearly defined but evidently against the persons of individuals, were retained in custody till their cases could be severally judged or considered.*

The next act of Eleanor, after performing this pleasing task, was to direct that an oath of allegiance to Richard should be taken by every freeman throughout the land. Some writers have erroneously declared that she commanded her own name to be inserted in the oath, but this mistake has arisen from a wrong reading of Hovedon.†

* To show how history can be written, or rather disfigured, I subjoin the account of this transaction given by Berington :— "Joyfully did she leave the castle of Winchester ; and, with a royal retinue, appearing before the people, *she proclaimed an universal discharge to all offenders*, for the repose of the soul of her husband, and commanded the prison gates to be unbarred. The prisons at Henry's death were uncommonly crowded. She ordered an oath of allegiance to be taken *to herself and son*, whereby every freeman bound himself to defend them, both in life and limbs, against all men and all women. This process was extraordinary, but when a new prince comes, in the festivity of the moment the forms of established order may be disregarded. Relaxed from the control of a severe administration, the nation received the princely indulgence with unbounded applause—acclamation rang through the provinces, but there were men who censured the proceeding as extravagant, and saw the danger which threatened the future peace of society. Richard landed in England, &c."—Berington Hist., pp. 358, 359.

† The assertion that Eleanor caused her own name to be inserted in the oath prescribed, and the fact of the people taking that oath with the utmost readiness, has occasioned much comment amongst historians ; but the only extraordinary part of

Richard in the meantime prepared to return to England, sending before him several of the English bishops and clergy who had visited him in Normandy, and leaving behind an obedient and well-contented people in his continental territories. Accompanied by his brother John, he proceeded to Barfleur, where the two princes embarked in separate vessels, and steered towards different ports, Richard landing at Portsmouth, and John at Dover.

it, indeed, would be the fact of Eleanor's name being associated with that of her son—if such were really the case—for the oath is scarcely in any point different from the common oath of allegiance in that day, and there was nothing at all wonderful in the people gladly pledging themselves by their usual engagement to their new sovereign. In regard to the fact of the oath having been taken to Eleanor herself as well as to Richard, I have more than doubts, and consequently I have not admitted it in the text, though the punctuation of the passage in Hovedon may certainly justify that interpretation. My firm belief is, that either by an error of the copyist, or an error of the printer, a comma has been added where there ought to be none. The words of Hovedon as they stand at present are "Quod unusquisque liberorum hominum totius regni juraret, quod fidem portabit domino Richardo regi Angliæ, filio domini regis Henrici, et dominæ Alienor reginæ." The comma after the word Henrici seems to me to have made the mistake into which Berington and others have fallen, and led them to take the genitive case for the dative; but that comma does not exist in Brompton, who copied Hovedon servilely; and the words which Hovedon himself uses, to point out the manner of each man's homage, "Sicut ligio domino suo," being in the singular number, would seem clearly to show that his meaning has been misunderstood.

His mother, Eleanor, Ranulph de Glanville, and all the great nobility of the realm, had assembled at Winchester, waiting for the arrival of the young monarch, and from day to day they were joined by fresh bodies of the clergy and barons of Normandy, Anjou, and Poitou, all eager to be present at the coronation of a sovereign from whose valour and conduct great events were universally expected.

Fresh bounties, especially towards Prince John, marked the arrival of Richard in England, and he who had obtained the name of Lackland from the previous distribution of his father's territories, was now invested with some of the richest lordships in Great Britain. The king's affection for his brother had, doubtless, a considerable share in prompting these acts of generosity; but there are some reasons for believing that Eleanor's fondness for John also influenced Richard; and we may likewise suppose that the monarch was moved in a degree by the desire of leaving that prince no reasonable cause of complaint.

That Eleanor had great power over the mind of Richard there can be no doubt; and almost immediately after his arrival in England she endeavoured to exert it for the ungenerous purpose of excluding from the chair of York her husband's natural son, Geoffrey, who had been recommended to that see by Richard, at Henry's express desire. She took advantage, it would seem, of the absence of the Bishop of Durham to instigate an appeal to the

Pope against the election of Geoffrey, and induced Richard himself not to interfere till the decision of Rome should be known. The king, nevertheless, continued to treat his brother with great kindness, till an unfortunate quarrel arose between them which I shall have occasion to notice hereafter; but, in the end, the papal judgment having confirmed his election, Richard caused him to be consecrated, and received in York, securing to him all the privileges belonging to that see.

Various other matters occupied the short time which elapsed between Richard's arrival in England and his coronation; and while preparations were being made, on an extensive scale, for the approaching ceremony, the general tranquillity of the realm was interrupted by vehement dissensions between the monks of Canterbury and the primate, upon which we may have to say a few words hereafter, as the firm and decided character of the monarch was thus early displayed in quelling the pretensions of a body possessing vast power over the minds of the people.

In the meanwhile, Richard caused an investigation to be made into the nature and amount of his father's treasures, which, it would appear, had been deposited in various places. When collected, weighed, and estimated by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, the value of the whole amounted to 100,000 marks, an immense sum in those times, considering the price of labour and of

the first necessaries of life. The death of the Bishop of Ely without heirs also added not a little to the wealth of the crown; the riches he had amassed during his life falling immediately into the royal treasury.

Though liberal in the extreme, Richard at this period was by no means indifferent to the state of his finances, having constantly in view one great and fascinating object, which could not be attained without vast resources; and in pursuit of his purpose, as we shall soon have occasion to show, he sacrificed many important interests which a just view of policy might have taught him to consider as far superior in magnitude to those for which he was more anxious. After visiting various parts of his dominions, and preparing vessels to carry him from the kingdom which he had just inherited to a distant land and a perilous expedition, Richard proceeded to London for the ceremony of his coronation, accompanied or followed by almost all the nobility of his realm, and by a large body of troops. Everything had been prepared with the utmost magnificence for the solemnity which was about to take place, and men, in the expectation of festivity and enjoyment, but little anticipated the sanguinary and ferocious scenes which were to accompany the consecration of a generous and beloved monarch.

BOOK XI.

RICHARD I., on his accession to the throne, was in the thirty-second year of his age, and endowed by nature with many high qualities of body and of mind. In person he was tall, strong, and active, long in the arms, straight and flexible in all his limbs, graceful of form, and peculiarly powerful in frame. His complexion was fair, his hair approaching red, but not exactly of the colour which is generally called so, and probably of the hue which we name auburn. No man, we are told, possessed more perfect symmetry, or more dignity of air and demeanour. He was famous for every sort of martial exercise; and we find the wielding of the sword particularly named as an art in which he excelled at this period. His skill in war, too, had been proved upon various occasions; and that the arts of peace were also cultivated by him, is shown by the fact, that in his

own day he obtained much celebrity in what was then called the gay science, or in other words, the composition of small and somewhat rude pieces of verse, the first effort of reviving poetry on the north of the Alps.* Besides these qualities, Richard had displayed a degree of moderation and even gentleness in his dealings with all men since he had succeeded to the dominions of his father, which might have been expected, from the clemency which he had generally shown to his vanquished enemies, during the various struggles in Poitou and Aquitaine, but which seems to have taken his subjects by surprise, when, having unbounded power to

* The description of Richard given by Vinesauf, though not a little exaggerated, may not be uninteresting to the reader, as shewing the excess of admiration, and somewhat servile reverence, by which he was viewed by his people at this period:— "Huic autem virtus *Hectoris*, magnanimitas erat *Achillis*, nec inferior *Alexandro*, nec virtute junior *Rollando*, imo nostri temporis commendabiliores facile multifariam transcendens, cujus velut alterius *Titi* dextra sparsit opes, et, quod in tam famoso milite perrarum esse solet, lingua *Nestoris*, prudentia *Ulissis*, in omnibus negotiis vel perorandis vel gerendis aliis merito reddebant excellentiorem, cujus nec scientia strenue agendi voluntatem refugeret, nec voluntas scientiæ inopiam accusaret, quis (si quis forte præsumptionis æstimaverit arguendum) noverit ejus animi vinci nescium, injuriæ impatientem, ad jure debita repetenda, innata generositate compulsum non inconvenienter excusarit, quem ad quæque gerenda effecerat successus elegantiorem, quoniam audentes fortuna juvat, quæ licet in quolibet suis fungatur moribus, fuit tamen iste adversis rerum immersabilis undis. Erat quidem statura procerus, elegantis formæ, inter rufum et flavum

chastise, he used it, but with two exceptions, to soothe, to recompense, or to forgive.

The feelings of the people, then, towards a monarch thus situated and thus endowed, may be very easily conceived; and we find that his coronation was anticipated with a degree of pleasure, and accompanied by a display of feudal pomp, such as is not recorded respecting that of any of his predecessors. On his arrival in London, on the first of September, he was met by the citizens, the clergy, and the nobles, and conducted in procession to the palace of Westminster, where he remained till the day appointed for the ceremony, which was the third of the same month. The superstition of the period

medie temperata cæsarie, membris flexilibus et directis, brachia productiora, quibus ad gladium educendum nulla habiliora, vel ad ferendum efficaciora, nihilominus tibiarum longa divisio totuisque corporis dispositione congrua, species digna imperio, cui non modicum competentiæ mores addebant et habitus, qui non tantum à generis dignitate, sed virtutum ornamentis summam possit consequi laudem. Sed quid tantum virum laudum immensitate laborem extollere? non eget externo commendatore, quod amplum laudis habet meritum, laus comes ipsa rei est. Fuit nimirum longe præstans cæteris, et morum bonitate et potentia virium; belloque et potestate memorandus; ejusque opera magnifica omnem quantumvis claræ gloriæ illustrationem obumbrantia. Felix profecto, secundum hominem dico, reputandus, si gloriosis ejus gestis invidentibus caruisset æmulis, quorum fuit hoc solum odii seminarium, quia magnificus erat, quia nimiter nunquam torquebis in vitio quam virtuti serviendo."

beheld, with some surprise, that the sovereign had appointed that solemnity to take place on a day marked as unfortunate in the calendar; and there is no historian of those times who does not particularly point out the fact, though in general they endeavour to show that the inauspicious influence of the third nones of September was confined in its effects to the Jews.

Richard, however, paid no attention to evil auguries, and the ceremony took place on the day appointed. It is to be remarked, that previous to his coronation the greater part of the historians of the time do not bestow upon him the title of king, some continuing to call him in their writings Count of Poitou, and others, Duke of Normandy. This would not be deserving of notice, as the sovereign power of the monarch was universally acknowledged in England from the period of his father's death, but the words of Diceto render the fact worthy of consideration, that historian distinctly stating, that previous to his consecration some form of election took place by the clergy and people assembled. He does not describe the manner in which this election was conducted, but he declares that it was solemn, and hints that it was customary. I do not find the fact mentioned by any other contemporary writer; but as Diceto himself was present, taking part in the ceremony, and his statement was written for persons who must have known the facts, there is no possibility of doubting

that some proceeding of the kind which he mentions actually did occur.*

Everything having been prepared, and the nobles and people assembled, the clergy, headed by the archbishops and bishops of the realm, together with the abbots and heads of the monastic orders, proceeded from the abbey, in which they had met, towards the king's bed-chamber, having a large cross, with censers and vessels of holy water, borne before them. The monarch received them, surrounded by his nobles; and, the procession to the abbey having being formed, Richard issued forth from his chamber, supported by the Bishops of Durham and Bath, and, walking upon cloth, which had been laid from his bed-chamber to the altar, advanced to the church amidst the chants of the choristers and the acclamations of the people. First came the clergy, in their silken copes, bearing the cross, the holy water, the lighted tapers, and the incense; then appeared the priors and abbots of the various monastic orders, followed by the bishops, in the midst of whom were seen four barons, each carrying a large candlestick of gold; next came side by side Godfrey de Lucy and John Mareschal, the one bear-

* I conceive this ceremony to have been different from the ordinary form of presenting the sovereign to the people used at present. The words of Diceto are—"Comes itaque Pictavorum Ricardus hæreditario jure promovendus in regem, post tam cleri quam populi sollempnem et debitam electionem, involutus est," &c.

ing the cap of maintenance, the other, two large golden spurs. These were followed by William Mareschal, Earl of Striguel, and William Earl of Salisbury, the first carrying the sceptre surmounted by the golden cross; the latter, the golden rod with the dove. After them appeared Prince John, having on his right and left David Earl of Huntingdon, brother of the King of Scotland, and Robert Earl of Leicester, each bearing one of the three swords covered with its sheath of gold. This party was succeeded by six earls and six barons, supporting on their shoulders a large table, on which were placed the royal vestments. Then appeared William Mandeville, Earl of Albemarle, carrying a heavy crown of gold, decorated in every part with precious stones. Richard himself came next, with his two supporters, having the royal canopy borne over his head upon four lances by four of his barons. The rest of the nobility and clergy followed, and entered the church according to their rank.

Passing through the nave, the king, with his chief officers and the dignified and beneficed clergy, proceeded into the choir, where he knelt before the high altar, on which were placed the holy evangelists and the principal relics belonging to the abbey. On these the monarch swore, first, that he would honour and reverence God and the holy church all the days of his life; secondly, that he would dispense justice and equity to the people committed to his charge; and, thirdly, that he would annul all evil laws and

customs which had been introduced into his kingdom, and guard and maintain all good ordinances.

These oaths having been taken, his attendants stripped him of all his garments except his shirt and hose, the shirt itself being unsown upon the shoulders, in order to permit of the unction. The proper officers then proceeded to dress him in the royal robes, beginning with the golden sandals. Before the tunic was assumed, however, the Archbishop of Canterbury anointed him with consecrated oil on three parts of the body, the head, the breast, and the arms, the three unctions being symbolical, we are told, of glory, fortitude, and knowledge; and at each several act the primate addressed him in a certain appointed form, probably explaining to him the mystic nature of the various parts of the ceremony. This being performed, the archbishop bound his head with the linen fillet, which had been previously consecrated, and placed above it the cap of maintenance. The king was next clothed in the tunic and dalmatic, and the sword of justice was placed in his hands. The golden spurs were then bound on his heels, and the mantle cast over his shoulders, after which the monarch again knelt before the altar, on which was placed the crown. Before he raised it, the archbishop warned him, in the most solemn manner, not to assume so high a dignity unless he was fully resolved to keep the oaths which he had just taken. Richard replied that he was determined so to do, and taking the crown from the

altar, he gave it to the archbishop, who then placed it on his head. On account of its great weight, two of Richard's barons supported the crown upon his head, while the primate placed the sceptre in his right hand, and the rod with the dove in his left. The Bishops of Bath and Durham led him back to his throne, after which high mass began, in the course of which the king was once more conducted to the altar, where he offered, according to custom, a mark of pure gold, and then resumed his seat.

On the conclusion of the mass, Richard, with his supporters and attendants, returned in procession to the palace, bearing the crown upon his head and the sceptre in his hand. He was led, we are told, with the same solemn ceremony to his very couch, where the clergy left him. The monarch then exchanged his heavy crown and more cumbrous vestments for others of a lighter sort, and shortly after proceeded to the coronation banquet, at which the archbishop and bishops were seated with the king in the order of their rank, while the principal nobles served their sovereign at table according to their tenures. The citizens of London acted as butlers, and the burgesses of Winchester as cooks. The hall, it would seem, was thronged with people of various degrees, and several other tables were laid out besides that at which the monarch himself sat.

Whether to gratify the zeal of his faithful subjects, or to guard against any of those acts of tumult and violence which sometimes took place

when the wandering traders of the children of Israel were mixed with the Christians at any public ceremony, Richard had published a proclamation, forbidding the Jews, who were then very numerous in London, from entering the church or the precincts of the palace on the day of his coronation. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the Israelites, it would seem, were determined, either from motives of interest or curiosity, to enter the banquet hall, and witness the festivities which were going on. While the king was still at table, several of the Hebrew people, amongst whom was a wealthy Israelite named Benedict of York, passed the gates on the pretence of offering the king gifts on the occasion of his coronation; but as soon as they were perceived, the inferior persons who crowded the lower part of the hall, attacked and drove them out with blows, following them furiously into the space before the palace. Benedict the Jew, of York, was nearly killed upon the spot, and only saved from death by crying out that he wished to become a Christian;* upon which he was baptized, apparently without any decent delay, by William, prior of St. Mary's, of York.

The crowd on the outside of the hall seeing the Israelites thus driven forth from the presence of the king, became possessed with the idea† that it was

* The words of Hoveden seem to me clearly to imply that he was amongst those at the doors of the hall.

† Not only were the people at the time possessed with this

by Richard's order they were attacked, and not content with striking them with the fist, caught up sticks and stones, killing several, and leaving others half dead upon the ground. The report spread like lightning through the city that a general massacre of the Jews had commenced. It unfortunately happens that in every great town multitudes are found ready to follow any example of mischief which may be given to them, crowds speedily collected in various parts of the capital, and pouring into the quarters in which the houses of the Jews were situated, commenced the work of pillage and murder in the most brutal and remorseless manner. Few were suffered to escape, but those who, having friends amongst the Christian population, were permitted to fly to their houses for shelter.

Such was the mad rage of the excited people, that the houses of the Hebrews were fired, even at the risk of burning the capital, a great part of which was then built of wood; and if we may be permitted to form a conception from the writings of many of the contemporary monks and priests, what was their own conduct at the time, it is probable that these abominable acts were, in most instances, countenanced and encouraged by the clergy.* Nor was the

idea, but contemporary, or nearly contemporary historians also. Thus the Waverley Annals state, after describing the coming of the Jews to the hall, "Sed rege subinde indignante repulsi sunt," &c.

* Richard of Devizes uses the following expressions in speak-

offence confined to London alone. The news of the massacre of the Jews spread through the whole country with the rapidity and malignity of a pest. One city emulated another in rapine and violence; and it would seem that of all the great towns throughout the kingdom, Winchester alone displayed the true spirit of Christianity towards the unfortunate Israelites, for which lenity she is severely blamed by some of the contemporary historians.

Such was the general feeling of animosity towards the Jewish race, that few of the historians of the time will admit that the act of their destruction was anything but laudable. Richard, however, viewed the massacre in a very different light, and was highly indignant that the day of his coronation should be stained by a crime as impolitic as it was atrocious. Accordingly, he immediately dispatched Randulph de Glanville, the justiciary, with several other noblemen, to quell the riot and to protect the Hebrews. The people, however, resisted every effort to repress their violence, and the slaughter of the Jews continued in London till the next morning. It was with the greatest difficulty that any of the malefac-

ing of this abominable butchery:—"Eodem coronationis die, circa illam sollemnitatis horam qua Filius immolabatur Patri, incœptum est in civitate Londoniæ immolare Judæos patri suo diabolo; tantaque fuit hujus celebris mora mysterii, ut vix altera die compleri potuerit holocaustum. Æmulatæ sunt aliæ civitates regionis et urbes fidem Londoniensium, et pari devotione suos sanguisugas cum sanguine transmiserunt ad infernos."

tors could be discovered and apprehended; and though Brompton assures us that three were hung on the following day by sentence of the king's court, Diceto, a contemporary and eye-witness, declares that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the monarch, not one could be brought to justice either as principal or accessary. From his account, too, we learn that the leaders of the riot in the capital were supposed to be foreigners, but every statement exculpates Richard from all share in the crime, and shows that he was moved with horror and indignation as soon as it was made known to him. In these respects his conduct stands in bright comparison with that of the King of France, one of whose first acts after his accession to the throne was to strip the unhappy Jews of all their wealth, and to drive them out of his dominions.

One of the strongest proofs of Richard's sense of equity is afforded by his behaviour towards the unhappy Benedict of York, who had only escaped death, as we have shewn, by receiving baptism in the midst of the tumult. Having been made acquainted with what had taken place, the young monarch caused the Jew to be brought before him on the following day; and, judging rightly that the unhappy man had only renounced his faith under the apprehension of immediate destruction, he asked him before the assembled prelates whether he had really become a Christian at heart or not. Benedict, in reply, told the simple truth, and was

permitted, uninjured, to abjure the religion he had only apparently assumed, though there can be no doubt that had Richard put him to death for his nominal apostasy, all Europe would have rang with applause of the deed, and, by a strange perversion of terms, would have called the murder, justice.*

* The observation of the Archbishop of Canterbury upon this occasion is so characteristic of the man and of the age as to be worthy of transcribing:—"Si ille Christianus esse non vult, homo diaboli sit." Brompton gives the words somewhat differently, but both may be translated "If he will not be Christ's, let him be the devil's."

BOOK XII.

LONG before the death of his father, Richard had entertained a desire of visiting the Holy Land; but a mind ambitious of military fame saw a great distinction between leading and accompanying a mighty force for the deliverance of Palestine. Though he had shewn some eagerness to display his chivalrous qualities in that celebrated field of enterprise, and in the year 1187 had actually taken the cross without the consent of his father, yet all his preceding zeal was cool and temperate when compared with the wild enthusiasm which seized upon him when he saw the vast resources of a great kingdom entirely at his disposal.

With more policy and prudence than would seem compatible with his after rashness and profusion, the English monarch, we have reason to believe, concealed from his nobles and clergy the measures which he must already have contemplated, till such time as he

was fully established in the supreme authority and his solemn coronation, as well as a general act of homage, had bound his people to him by the strongest feudal ties. No sooner, however, had he concluded the latter ceremony, which took place on the second day after his coronation, than he seems to have cast every thought and consideration behind him but the one paramount idea of the Crusade.

To make preparation for his expedition to the Holy Land, and to ensure the means of carrying out his purposes upon the grandest and most efficient scale, now became his sole object, and for that were forgotten his obligations as a king, the interests of his people, and the rights of his successors. Other monarchs, before Richard, had taken the cross, had sacrificed their possessions, had left their subjects unprotected and but half-governed during a long period of absence. Others had squandered money, blood, and time, and had wasted even the most precious possession of all, wisdom, upon similar enterprises; but they were moved by a different spirit, carried on by a higher, though perhaps as mistaken an enthusiasm. *They* were inspired by religious zeal, *he* by the desire of military glory; they went to deliver, he to conquer; and the difference between the motives of other monarchs and his own, marks an important step in the march of society, shewing where chivalry first began to separate itself from religion, and where, amongst its mixed ingre-

dients, the military portion assumed the predominance.

Let me not be supposed for a moment to assert that Richard, any more than his father, was without a share of superstition, that he did not regard with veneration that land endeared to remembrance by the blessed work of our salvation, and did not think that he was doing God good service in smiting the enemies of the Christian faith; but that these inducements were the great moving causes in his case, as they had been in those of Godfrey of Bouillon, and Louis VII., the whole of Richard's life and deeds distinctly disproves. It was as the knight that he went, not as the pilgrim; as the soldier, not as the friar. At that moment, the only great field for military enterprise, the only arena where vast renown was to be acquired, was in the Holy Land. All other wars but that against the Infidel bore some stain upon them. They were stigmatized by the clergy, abhorred by the people, condemned in the severest terms by the Bishop of Rome; but every sort of glory waited the successful warrior in the Holy Land, and thither the young monarch rushed, to seek and win the prize which he pursued through life.

No sooner, then, was the act of homage performed, than Richard, to use the expressive but simple words of the historian,* "exposed for sale

* Hoveden.

everything that he had—castles, manors, and estates."* The whole of the royal domain was sold to the highest bidder, and it would seem even the offices of the greatest trust were rendered venal, for the purpose of collecting money to carry on the war in the Holy Land with the vigour and activity which alone could ensure success. Richard's military experience had already shewn him how true is the axiom, that riches are the sinews of war; and to add to the wealth which he had inherited from his father, appeared to be his only thought during the period of his stay in England; though, at the same time, the lavish generosity of his natural character was strikingly displayed by the facility by which he granted territories of great value for sums far below their worth. One of the principal, and also one of the first purchasers at this auction of royal possessions, was a grasping and ambitious prelate, named Hugh Pusey, Bishop of Durham, who began by buying the manor of Sadbury, or Sudbury, with its wapentak and the military fiefs thereunto attached, for the small sum of six hundred marks of silver. Not contented with this acquisition, the bishop also applied to purchase, for life, the earldom of Northumberland, with all its castles and appur-

* The words of Brompton are equally strong:—"Omnia erant ei (regi) venalia scilicit potestates dominationes comitatus vicecomitatus castella villæ prædia officia et omnia his similia."

tenances. Richard made no difficulty in granting his request, and although we cannot exactly ascertain the sum which was paid for this extensive concession, there is every reason to believe that the price of the county was in proportion to that of the manor.* If we might believe the account of Walter Hemingford, we should suppose that Richard felt the stain which such cupidity would leave upon his memory, and consoled himself with one of those bitter jests which monarchs sometimes indulge at the expense of those who lead them astray, even whilst they are yielding to the temptation.

"What a wonderful artist I am," he is said to have cried, on granting the earldom of Northumberland to the Bishop of Durham; "out of an old bishop I have made a new earl."

But as the historian misstates almost all the important particulars of the transaction, we may well doubt the authenticity of the jest.

Numbers followed the example of Hugh Pusey in buying various portions of the royal domain, and indeed the clergy, whether from their greater wealth, or greater ambition, seem to have been

* Richard of Devizes gives us to understand, that for the county of Northumberland, and some other concessions, in which there is reason to believe the post of high justiciary was included, the king obtained from the bishop the sum of ten thousand pounds of silver. See Richard of Devizes, p. 8.

the principal purchasers; but it is to be recollected, that probably at no time was the church, especially in its highest offices, so corrupt as in the twelfth century. The bishops, mitred abbots, prebends, and others, did not in that day rise from a body of men devoted to the service of God and to the instruction of their brethren in the pure doctrines of the Christian religion. They were not selected for their learning, or their piety, or their virtue. They were not subjected to long years of study, to any examination of their abilities, or any term of probation. In many instances, as in that of Thomas à Becket, they were chosen from the ranks of the most worldly, the most carnal, the most voluptuous, received the holy orders as a necessary form, and carried with them into the priesthood the same lusts and vices which they had exhibited as laymen; for it is not to be supposed that such miracles as transformed Thomas à Becket, in the space of a few days, from a sinner to a saint, were worked in favour of every influential personage who was thrust into the church, as the most convenient mode of gratifying his ambition. Various instances are recorded of bishops passing through all the orders of the church in one day; and such proceedings still more frequently took place in the appointment of inferior ecclesiastical officers, as in the case of Henry Mareschal, on whom the king at this period bestowed the deanery of York. It is not, therefore,

to be supposed that the dignitaries of the church were at this time so pure as to render their worldly eagerness in purchasing the low-priced estates which were now set up for sale in any degree marvellous.

The barons and the earls, indeed, were not backward in the same market, which was at length honoured by the presence of a king; the Scottish monarch, William, having, in the month of September, visited Richard at Canterbury, for the double purpose of doing homage to the sovereign of England for his feofs in this country, and of purchasing the emancipation of his own dominions from all subjection to the English crown. Ten thousand marks of silver were offered and received for the castles of Roxburg and Berwick, together with the renunciation of all right and title to those oaths which the Scottish king and nobles had been forced to take by Henry II.; and in a charter signed not only by the king, but by his brother John, and all the principal clergy and nobles of the land, Richard promised to restore the documents of every kind by which William had acknowledged himself a vassal of the English sovereigns.

A vague clause, indeed, was introduced into the end of this important paper, leaving the original question, as to whether there was any ancient right in the crown of England to the homage of the kings of Scotland still doubtful; Richard announcing an unexplained claim in the following words:—

"But he (the King of Scotland) became our liegeman for all those lands on account of which his predecessors were the liegemen of our predecessors, and he swore fidelity to us and to our heirs."*

* In describing this charter, Mr. Berington has, as usual, greatly disfigured its real meaning. He says—"It specifies that the vassalage to which William and his country had been subjected by Henry, were *extorted* during his captivity;" and he adds, in another place, that the King of Scotland did homage to Richard for the fiefs only which he held in England. Now, the charter says nothing of the kind. After speaking of the cession of Roxburg and Berwick, Richard goes on to declare—"Besides, we have set him free from all conventions and compacts which our father, Henry, King of England, of happy memory, by new charters, and by his capture, extorted from him; that is to say, so that he do fully and entirely towards us that which his brother Malcolm, King of the Scotch, did of right, and ought to have done, to our predecessors; and we will do towards him whatsoever our ancestors did of right, and ought to have done, towards the aforesaid Malcolm; that is to say, in safe conduct coming to the court, returning from the court, and in staying in the court, and in procurations, and in all liberties, and dignities, and honours due to him of right, according to that which may be recognised by four of our nobles, chosen by the said King William, and four of his nobles, chosen by us." He then goes on to state, that if anything has been usurped on the borders of Scotland by Englishmen, it shall be restored and reduced to the same state as before William's capture. After this Richard proceeds in the following words:—"Præterea de terris suis, quas haberet in Anglia, seu dominicis, seu feodis, scilicet in comitatu Hundendoniæ, et in omnibus aliis: in ea libertate, et plenitudine possideat, et hæredes ejus in perpetuum, qua Malcolmus possedit vel possidere debuit, nisi prædictus Malcolmus, vel hæredes sui aliquid postea infeodaverint:

The reckless and improvident manner in which the king parted with the domains of the crown, rendered the proceeds very much less than the sum which might have been easily obtained, had a slower and more rational course been pursued. Richard's eagerness to obtain money as rapidly as possible, however, hurried him into acts even less justifiable. It is distinctly stated by all the historians of the time, that he thus disposed of many estates to which he had no lawful claim; and he obtained letters from the Pope, by which he was authorized to remit to any persons whom he should depute to keep his lands, the obligation under which all men lay to take the cross. These indulgences the monarch

ita tamen quod si qua postea infeodata sunt, ipsorum feodorum servitia ad eum, vel hæredes ejus pertineant. Et si quid pater noster prædicto Willielmo regi Scotiæ donaverit, ratum et firmum habere volumus: Reddidimus etiam ei ligantias hominum suorum, et omnes chartas, quas dominus pater noster de eo habuit per captionem suam. Et si aliquæ aliæ forte per oblivionem retentæ, aut inventæ fuerint, eas penitus viribus carere præcipimus. Ipse autem ligius homo noster devenit de omnibus terris, de quibus antecessores sui ligii homines antecessorum nostrorum fuerunt. Et fidelitatem juravit nobis, et hæredibus nostris."

It will be seen from the above statement, that Richard by no means declared that the vassalage to which William and his country had been subjected by Henry, had been extorted during his captivity, as Mr. Berington says. He only vaguely sets him free from that which *had* been extorted, without specifying hwat, and especially reserves any ancient claims which the crown of England might have to homage from the crown of Scotland.

also set up to sale, by which, we are informed, he acquired an inestimable amount of money.

It is not to be supposed, however, that such acts were committed without remonstrance. Opposition, indeed, there was none, but we find it upon record that some of his nobles ventured to point out the imprudence of the course he was pursuing. Richard's reply was characteristic of the man, and indicative of the rash and childish eagerness with which he followed his object. "I would sell London, likewise," he replied, "if I could find a good purchaser."

One man, however, was found to do more than remonstrate. Ranulph de Glanville, the greatest lawyer of his age, grieved and indignant at conduct which he could not check, resigned into the king's hands his office of high justiciary, beseeching permission to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The post which he abandoned was immediately sought by the covetous Bishop of Durham, who, there can be no doubt, employed the same corrupt means to obtain this office which he had used for the acquisition of Northumberland; but in this instance, Richard did not altogether show the facility he had previously evinced, and though he partially granted the bishop's suit, he associated with him several other personages, for the execution of those high and important functions which Ranulph de Glanville had exercised undivided.

About the 15th of September, the king named,

in a council held at Pipewell, six persons as commissioners to perform the office of high justiciary. The name of the Bishop of Durham was the first upon the list; that of William, Earl of Albemarle, came next; and his was followed by those of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Brewere, Robert Wihtefield, and Roger Fitz-Remfrid. The death of some of these parties, and the influence of others over the mind of the king, caused various changes in this arrangement; and, indeed, there is some reason to suppose that the four latter named gentlemen were not invested with the same powers, but were appointed more to act as the council of the two first, than actually to participate in their authority.

The Earl of Albemarle, however, died in Normandy two months after his appointment, and, before the king quitted England, he issued a new commission, in which the name of the Bishop of Durham still stood first, while that of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, the chancellor, took the place of the Earl of Albemarle, and Hugh Bardolf and William Mareschal were substituted for Robert Wihtfield and Roger Fitz-Remfrid. The whole of the real power passed into the hands of Pusey and Longchamp, and from that moment a struggle commenced between them, the particulars of which we shall have to notice hereafter.

The people of England, however, saw with consternation by whom they were to be governed; and while they scorned the weak old man, whose wealth

had served to raise him to a share in one of the highest offices of the state, beheld with apprehension the greater portion of the king's delegated authority intrusted to Longchamp, a man of low birth and evil repute, in point of probity and good faith.

The resignation of Ranulph de Glanville was followed by other acts on the part of the king of a still less popular character. The high justiciary himself was not suffered to depart in peace on his journey to the Holy Land. Notwithstanding his advanced age—notwithstanding his long and meritorious services, he was arrested by order of the king, and only recovered his liberty upon the payment of a sum of fifteen thousand pounds of silver. What were the offences with which he was at this time charged we know not; but as it is evident that he had enriched himself immensely under Henry II.; and, as he is placed by the historian* in the same category with the Seneschal of Anjou, who we know was accused of embezzling the royal treasure, there

* The authority for the arrest of Ranulph de Glanville is the Chronicle of Richard of Devizes, who gives no date to the event, but places it in the beginning of Richard's reign, and immediately after his coronation. I see no reason, however, to doubt the accuracy of the statement, which is perfectly clear and precise; and I have placed it after the justiciary's resignation, which is mentioned by all contemporary historians, as it is clear he was never restored to the office; and Richard of Devizes distinctly states that he fell into complete disgrace both with the monarch and the people.

is reason to suppose that it was the crime of peculation for which he suffered punishment, whether justly or unjustly, it is impossible now to say. We must not, however, omit to state, that one of the most horrible crimes which man can commit was laid to the charge of the justiciary, in the year 1184, he having, according to Hoveden, condemned a gentleman named Plumton to death, without cause, solely for the purpose of giving the hand of his widow, with the estates she inherited, to the Sheriff of York. Plumton was saved by the interposition of the populace and one of the bishops, when the rope was actually round his neck, but was kept in prison till the accession of Richard.

The sheriffs of the counties, upon light and insufficient accusations, were, it would appear without exception, deprived of their offices, together with their bailiffs, nearly at the same time with Ranulph de Glanville, and were mulcted in severe fines, which greatly added to the royal treasure.* Murmurs were heard throughout the whole country; and reports were spread of a character which could not have been very gratifying to Richard, then in the pride of health and strength.

* Richard of Devizes places the deprivation of the sheriffs before the resignation of Ranulph de Glanville; but Brompton so distinctly marks that it followed as a sort of consequence upon the fall of the high justiciary, to whom most of them owed their offices, that I have followed his arrangement without hesitation.

A general and very natural conclusion in the minds of men was, that his present profuse alienation of the royal domains, when on the eve of his armed pilgrimage, argued an intention of never returning from the Holy Land. Many a prince had lately offered an example of such conduct, and it was with difficulty men could bring themselves to believe that a monarch would strip his crown of all the possessions, which afforded the only certain revenue, in those days, for the maintenance of its dignity, unless he proposed to seek new dominions. Others, again, attributing to him greater devotion than we have any reason to believe he possessed, imagined that he felt a conviction his days would terminate in Palestine, and were busy in spreading reports that his health was already severely affected in various ways. Some said that he was already worn out with the excessive labour in arms which he had sustained from his earliest years; others, that he had contracted a quartan fever, by which his strength had been so undermined as to leave no hope of his enduring the fatigues of an expedition to the East; and others wildly declared that recourse had been had to more than a hundred blisters in various parts of his body, "to dry up the corrupt humours." We all know what absurd tales can be circulated, even in the most civilized times, regarding the health of those on whom the weal of the state so greatly depends; and therefore it can be matter of no surprise that such idle rumours should

have been current even at a time when we are informed, by one of his personal attendants, he was in the highest health, and in manly vigour surpassing any of his subjects.

We do not find that Richard shewed any irritation at the remonstrances which were addressed to him regarding his prodigality, or at the reports which were current respecting his health. Animated by one great enthusiasm, and conscious of his vast corporeal powers, he treated both with sovereign contempt; and when pressed hardly, and even reasonably, on any particular act, his answer was always a jest, shewing even his most faithful servants how little weight he gave to their opinion when opposed to the object which he had set before him.

In the meanwhile, he did not want encouragement to pursue the course on which he had entered. Letters from popes and prelates urged him, in the most vehement manner, to abandon all things and hasten to the deliverance of Jerusalem; and the most lamentable pictures were daily placed before his eyes of the state of the Christians of the Holy Land, and the conquering progress of the Infidel. Envoys from the King of France also arrived in England in the month of November, for the purpose of notifying to Richard that Philip, with all his nobles who had taken the cross, had sworn upon the holy Evangelists to assemble in arms at Vezelay, by the end of Easter, for the purpose of proceeding to Palestine; and the Count of la Perche, who was

the principal ambassador on this occasion, was directed to require that the king of England and his barons should bind themselves, in the same solemn manner, to meet the French monarch and nobility at that place. Richard hesitated not to enter into the engagement, and in the presence of the envoys he, and many of his court, took the oath, which was also committed to writing.

Signs and wonders were of course not wanting to raise the enthusiasm of the people. A white banner was seen in the air, together with a crucifix, by the inhabitants of Dunstable, and various similar appearances marked the importance of the occasion, and the agitation in the minds of men. So great, indeed, was the enthusiasm amongst the populace, both in France and England, that it would appear large bodies of men, amongst whom were a number of the citizens of London, were not content to wait for the march of their kings and the great body of the crusade, but hiring ships for themselves, set out for the Holy Land by sea. One party of these more zealous crusaders, eager to try their arms on the very first opportunity, landed in the Peninsula, attacked and took a town, at that time in the possession of the Arabs, established therein the Christian religion, and handed it over to Sancho, King of Portugal.*

Tidings of this event speedily reached Great Britain, and it may be easily conceived that the successes of his subjects against the infidel only tended

* Hoveden calls this city Silvia.

to excite in the bosom of the king of England a more eager desire to commence his march. Various impediments, however, delayed the monarch for some time; and, had he attended to the voice of reason, the state of his country in general, and the dangers which were already apparent, would have induced him to defer the expedition till he had removed the many elements of discord which existed both in his family and in his kingdom. The harvest had been scanty, and famine had already shewn itself in the land; dissensions of the most virulent character raged in the church; Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, a violent and irreverent prelate, was at open enmity with many of the other clergy; a strong feeling of animosity reigned between the secular ecclesiastics and the monastic orders, and language of the most coarse and vituperative character was mutually used; while at the same time the consequences of many of Richard's own acts were beginning to appear, in the open resistance of persons whose rights he had infringed.

One of the first to offer opposition to his will was his brother Geoffrey, on whom, as we have shewn, he had conferred the Archbishopric of York, in execution of the intentions of his father. Eleanor, with pertinacious hatred towards the race of fair Rosamond Clifford, had taken an early opportunity, as we have already seen, of endeavouring to sow dissensions between her son and the son of the concubine. But Richard had persevered in his pur-

poses; and in the council of the English clergy, held at Pipewell, at the same time that he named four bishops to the sees which had been left vacant by his father or had become so since his own accession, he formally raised his illegitimate brother to the Archbishopric of York. This act produced immediate strife; Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, asserted his primacy, and would seem to have somewhat stretched the pretensions of his see, not only reviving all the old discussions which had arisen in the time of William the Conqueror, but formally prohibiting Geoffrey to receive consecration, or even holy orders, from any other prelate than himself, and equally forbidding all other prelates to give him ordination. He thus evidently far exceeded the claims of Lanfranc, for although the decision of the Synod of 1072 might be construed to extend to the right of consecration, it could by no means confine to the Archbishop of Canterbury the sole right of ordination.* The council did not decide upon the pretensions of

* Dr. Henry, in a sketch of the religious history of England, does not touch upon the question of ordination; yet the words of Hoveden are precise. The charter which Baldwin produced upon the present occasion, purporting to be one granted by William the Conqueror, as recited by Hoveden, contains many assertions directly contradicted by all the historians of William's reign. I have thought it right to notice this fact, although I shall not attempt to explain or reconcile the opposing statements, as they bear very slightly upon the reign of Richard.

the primate; but it is evident that Geoffrey strongly opposed them, as, a few days after, he received priest's orders from the hands of a Scotch bishop. The archbishop appealed to the pope, but, in the meantime, the quarrel to which we have alluded arose between Richard and Geoffrey, in regard to the rights of the see of York. Immediately after the nomination of the bishops, at Pipewell, the king had proceeded to distribute some inferior church dignities, amongst which were the deanery of York and three other clerical offices in the cathedral of that city. If the Archbishop of Canterbury shewed himself jealous of his privileges, Geoffrey was no less so, and he now loudly declared that Richard's appointments in his see could not hold good without his consent. His resistance irritated the king in the highest degree; and by a stretch of authority which, under a less powerful monarch, would have produced vehement opposition at almost any period of British history, Richard forfeited or disseized Geoffrey, not only of the Archbishopric of York, but of all his possessions on both sides of the sea. A fierce feud took place in consequence between the two brothers, and Geoffrey quitted the royal court, determined, it would appear, to assert his rights. The clergy of the diocese now shewed themselves inclined to support their archbishop, and when the new-made dean presented himself at the cathedral for the purpose of his in-

stallation, the prebends refused to proceed to that ceremony, declaring that none but the archbishop himself could instal the dean.

The precentor of the church, however, yielded on this point, and the dean took formal possession of his office. But when Buccard de Pusey, Archdeacon of Durham, to whom the king had given the office of Treasurer of York, appeared at the cathedral, the same precentor positively refused to admit him, asserting that the important dignity had been bestowed upon him by Archbishop Roger, with the consent of Henry II., and the archdeacon retired disappointed.

Shortly after, Geoffrey himself made his entry into York, and was received in solemn procession by the clergy of the cathedral. His first act, however, was to refuse admission to the dean and treasurer, alleging that he could not yield to their claims till his own election had been confirmed by the pope.

Such was the state of the church in the northern part of the kingdom towards the end of October, 1189, when Richard was hastening all his preparations to leave England; and at the same time, disputes still more furious existed, in the south, between Archbishop Baldwin and the monks of Canterbury. The election of Baldwin had, at the time of his elevation, been strenuously opposed by the convent of Canterbury; and, actuated, it would appear, by a spirit of revenge, which, like all other bad

passions, will frequently conceal itself under a holy garb, the archbishop, almost immediately after he had assumed the mitre, began to erect a magnificent chapel and monastery at Hackington, in the suburbs of Canterbury, dedicating it to St. Thomas à Becket, and assigning a fourth part of all oblations received at the tomb of the martyr for the building and support of the new church. The monks of Canterbury took fright at the diminution of their revenues, and vehemently opposed the construction of buildings in which they saw the rise of a rival to their own monastery. Appeals were made to the pope on both parts, and various contradictory decisions were given by the holy see, which at that time passed rapidly from one pontiff to another, Urban, Gregory, and Clement having succeeded each other at intervals of a very few months. Ultimately, however, the decision of the pope was definitely given in favour of the monks, but the archbishop still held out, supported by Henry II. and the whole power of the crown, treating the monks with considerable severity, and even threatening their dispersion; while the self-denying cenobites, on the other hand, employed the whole artillery of Rome to alarm or injure their opponents.

These quarrels had convulsed the realm for some time at the period of Richard's accession, and a Cardinal, John of Anagnia, had been sent over by the pope to terminate the disgraceful dispute, and restore peace between the primate and his convent,

the monks of which the prelate in the broadest terms, and not the most Christian spirit, had more than once given over to Satan. In this intemperate language he was warmly seconded by the Bishop of Chester, who did not scruple to say, that if he were listened to there should soon not be a monk in England, adding, "Monks!—to the devil with them."

In the month of November, 1189, the cardinal legate arrived at Dover, but Richard being warned of his coming, and rendered cautious by the example of his father, resolved that no one should interfere in the affairs of the English church if he could possibly prevent so dangerous an intrusion. He accordingly sent messengers to meet the cardinal at Dover, formally prohibiting him from advancing any farther, while he himself hurried down to Canterbury, with a number of prelates and abbots, to decide the dispute between Baldwin and the monks.

The powerful and vigorous mind of Richard, and the prompt and rigorous exercise of his authority, soon brought about that which Ranulph de Glanville, and others, had in vain attempted to effect. He inquired minutely into the causes of the dispute; and then, in secret council with the bishops and abbots who had accompanied him to Canterbury, he decided upon the steps to be taken. In the first place, he endeavoured to reason with the convent, and suggested, it would appear mildly, that it would be better for the monks to submit to their archbishop,

if that prelate could be induced to pull down a chapel which he had built, contrary, as they asserted, to their rights and privileges, and to remove the obnoxious Prior Roger. It is evident, however, from the account of Gervase, one of their own body, that the convent shewed a refractory and implacable spirit, refusing all concession, and Richard then proceeded to enforce obedience with a powerful hand. At the end of three days' discussion, the monks being assembled in the chapter-house, together with the bishops and other high dignitaries of the church, to hear the decision of the king, Richard proceeded thither, with a crowd of attendants and spectators, and commanded the Archbishop of Rouen to pronounce the award on which he had previously determined. That prelate then, standing in the midst, after silence had been obtained, declared the judgment of the king and the bishops present to be, that the primate had every right to build his chapel wheresoever he thought fit, and also to appoint the prior; and, moreover, that the convent had only to cast itself upon the mercy of the archbishop, who would thereupon grant forgiveness.

The consternation of the poor monks at this unexpected sentence seems to have approached the ridiculous, and for some moments they remained in silent despair. At length, however, having been directed to stand forth in the midst, one of them, more bold than the rest, raised his voice to remind

the king of the proposal which had been made to the convent in regard to the demolition of the chapel, and the removal of the prior—a proposal which they had previously treated with scorn, but were now very anxious to revive. But Richard, stretching forth his arm with an angry gesture, commanded him sternly to be silent, and then bade the monks go down upon their knees. The order was immediately obeyed by the astounded brethren, who remained in stupified silence for several minutes, till one of the eldest of them recovering his senses, and perceiving the inutility of further resistance, addressed the archbishop in humble terms, beseeching him, if they had offended him in anything, to forgive them, and to preserve the rights of the church and the convent.

The archbishop in return replied, as had been previously agreed upon between himself and the king, that he pardoned them and theirs, with the exception of the sub-prior, who was not present; upon which, the monks cast themselves at his feet, excusing the sub-prior, and entreating that he might be included in the pardon. To this petition the archbishop answered, "Let him come then as you have come, and seek forgiveness, and he shall receive it as well as yourselves;" and then added, as he had been directed, "As you have besought me to forget my indignation towards you and yours, so I beseech you to forgive me from the heart for anything that I have said or done to offend you."

The Archbishop of Rouen then again rose, and announced that by the will of the king and the bishops there present, and with the consent of the archbishop, it was determined that the prior, Roger, should be removed, and the obnoxious chapel destroyed: tidings which were heard with much gratification by the monks, who, from the strong vindication of the archbishop's authority, by the king, in the commencement of these proceedings, had imagined that their claims were altogether rejected.

Thus terminated the dissensions between Archbishop Baldwin and his monks; and, while the primate consoled himself for the destruction of the chapel and convent at Hackington, by building a church at Lambeth, and bestowing it upon the secular canons who were ejected from the building which he had been ordered to pull down, Richard gave the wealthy abbey of Evesham to the deposed Prior Roger, as a compensation for the loss he had sustained.* Messengers were then despatched to

* Dr. Henry looks upon this termination of the dispute as a complete triumph on the part of the monks, but whoever reads the account of Gervase will find that the convent of Canterbury regarded it in a very different light, and mourned over their abasement with many expressions of grief and indignation. It is true, that the king ordered the demolition of the obnoxious buildings, and the removal of the prior to whom the monks objected, but he did not do so till he had humbled the monks before the archbishop; and he could not well do otherwise, without casting off altogether the authority of the Holy See,

bring the legate from Dover, and he was received in Canterbury with all sorts of honours, which, however, were not sufficient to compensate in his eyes for the insult offered to his authority by the act of the king in deciding the quarrels in the metropolitan church without his intervention.

Another important point remained to be settled in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, and in this the legate was permitted to decide. The Bishops of Durham and Salisbury had appealed to the pope against the election of Geoffrey to the see of York, alleging that their voices had not been taken, and that the first vote lay with them. At the same time, the newly appointed dean and the treasurer of York had also appealed against the election, not without the suspicion of being instigated by Eleanor to oppose the son of Rosamond Clifford. But their appeal set forth different motives from those which were avowed by the two bishops, and was couched in terms savouring strongly of personal enmity. They accused Geoffrey of homicide, and declared him incapable of receiving the mitre, as "the offspring of adultery, and born of a harlot."

which had been appealed to in a question purely clerical, and had decided, not only on those two points, but on many others, in favour of the convent. It is somewhat too much to expect that the king, while vindicating his own authority, should altogether set at nought the decisions, in ecclesiastical matters, of a prelate then universally acknowledged to be the head of the church.

The legate, however, after having listened to their objections, treated them as frivolous, and solemnly confirmed the disputed election; probably not displeased, in some degree, to mortify Richard, who was still at enmity with his brother. Geoffrey, however, not long after, took advantage of Richard's predominant passion at the moment, to recover his good will; and, by a promise of giving him three thousand pounds sterling, in aid of his expedition to the Holy Land, he induced the king to restore to him all the estates and territories on both sides of the sea which he had received from his father Henry, and also to confirm him in the archbishopric of York.

So entirely, indeed, did the placable monarch forget his anger, that he added, of his own free will, some additional gifts and privileges; and, in return, Geoffrey received the personages whom Richard had nominated to offices in the church of York, promising to have them duly and solemnly installed after his consecration. Having terminated his short visit to England with an act of beneficence, Richard, with his attendants and the cardinal legate, set sail from Dover on the 11th of December, and landed safely at Calais, where he was honourably received by Philip, Count of Flanders, who escorted him, with every mark of respect, to the confines of Normandy.

BOOK XIII.

In a preceding part of this volume I have given a detailed account of the events which had occurred in the Holy Land previous to the year 1176, at which period Henry of England and Louis of France solemnly pledged themselves to take the cross, and march to the deliverance of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem from the enemies and dangers which menaced it on every side. The narrative then conducted us down to the period when the power of Saladin was consolidated by the union of almost all the Syrian dominions of Noureddin with those territories in Egypt, which his own genius and that of his uncle had only nominally added to the Attabec empire. I have shewn how he triumphed over the son and over the kinsman of his former lord, while, by temporary expedients, he suspended the operations of the Christians against him, and if he did not actually lull them into a feeling of security, at all

events sowed dissensions in their councils and deprived them of both harmony and vigour, at the only moment when the combined exertions of the knights and nobles of the Latin kingdom might have found a fair opportunity of preventing the reunion, under one Mahommedan prince, of that vast military power which, at the death of Noureddin, had been scattered and divided.

Having related these facts, it seemed necessary to turn to the events immediately connected with English history, which took place between the year 1176 and Richard's accession to the throne; and in so doing, I have been frequently obliged to refer to the progress made by the Mahommedans of Syria in their warfare against the Christian princes of Palestine, contenting myself, however, with general statements respecting the disastrous condition to which the kingdom of Jerusalem was reduced, and reserving a more detailed account of the tragic occurrences which involved that kingdom in utter ruin for the part of the work which immediately precedes the famous expedition of Richard himself to the Holy Land, in order that every reader may comprehend the views and feelings with which the Crusaders at this time drew the sword. We have now arrived at the point where it is necessary to resume once more the history of the Latin States of Palestine, and to bring it down to the time when Philip and Richard commenced, in earnest, their preparations for the third crusade.

In describing the political state of the Holy Land previous to the inglorious expedition of Louis VII., William of Tyre informs us that the country was divided into four separate principalities, of which the kingdom of Jerusalem was the chief; and he gives a lamentable picture of the selfish and interested views upon which all the princes of these four small states acted, utterly thoughtless of the common good, except in the presence of immediate and pressing danger, and each seeking nothing but his own aggrandisement by the extension of his territories. The aspect of all things, however, was very different at the period of which I now speak, and the object of ambition to the nobles of the Holy Land was no longer the acquisition of territories to be wrested from the infidel, but the government of the kingdom of Jerusalem, either as the minister of a diseased and declining monarch, as his successor on the throne, or as regent of the kingdom under a still weaker and less talented sovereign.

Perceiving that the malady under which he himself suffered was daily increasing, while the internal diseases of the state were making as rapid a progress, Baldwin, in order to put a stop to the intrigues which were going on around him, invited from Italy, William, called Longsword, son of the Marquis of Montferrat, and bestowed on him the hand of his sister, Sybilla. By the military skill for which he was famous, and by the mighty houses

to which he was allied, the Leper monarch doubtless expected that William of Montferrat would prove a strong prop to the tottering throne of Jerusalem; but ere he had been many months in the Holy Land, the Italian prince was seized with a fatal distemper, and terminated an illustrious career in June, 1177, leaving his wife some months advanced in pregnancy.

Scarcely had he closed his eyes when the arrival of Philip, Count of Flanders, with considerable forces, and a numerous body of nobles, raised the hopes of the Christians of Palestine, only, however, to disappoint them severely. New intrigues sprang up immediately after his arrival; and though Baldwin, incapacitated for the time, by illness, either to mount his horse or to conduct the civil government of his country, offered to his distinguished guest the regency of the kingdom of Jerusalem, it soon became evident to all the monarch's counsellors that Philip aimed at still greater advantages. He was frustrated, however, by the penetration and firmness of Baldwin's advisers, and, mortified and angry, he brought disunion into all the councils of the King of Jerusalem, impeding, and, in the end, preventing, the execution of a long-arranged enterprise against Egypt, in which the Emperor of Constantinople was to have borne a part.

After much hesitation and unknightly delay, having learned that Saladin, alarmed at the demonstrations made on the side of Egypt, had gathered

together all the forces he could collect, and quitted Syria to defend the African portion of his dominions, leaving the defence of his Asiatic territories to his brother, Touranschah, a weak and incompetent prince, the Count of Flanders agreed to lead his men towards Aleppo, supported by a large body of the troops of Jerusalem, and co-operating with another Christian army under Renault, Prince of Antioch, who had been appointed regent of the kingdom upon his own refusal of that office.

It is necessary to remark that, according to the account of the Arabians, a truce existed between the King of Jerusalem and Malek Saleh, the young sovereign of Aleppo; but a strange clause, it would seem, had been inserted in the convention, to the effect that if the Franks of Palestine received succour from the west, they were at liberty to resume the war. The first efforts of this expedition were directed against Hamah, but the Christians were there repulsed with great loss, and they then turned their arms against Harem, which they hoped more easily to reduce, as it was actually in a state of insurrection against Malek Saleh. That city had been for some time ruled by an Emir named Kemeschtekin, supposed to have been of Christian origin, and even of European descent, if not actual birth. He was accused by the bigotted Mahommedans of still retaining the true faith at heart, or at least of feeling so much tenderness towards the professors of the Christian religion, as to favour them at the

expense of his duty. Certain it is, that from some motives which we do not clearly perceive, he had liberated a number of Frankish prisoners; amongst whom is said to have been the famous Renault de Chatillon, who afterwards played a remarkable part in the Holy Land under the name of the Lord of Carac, as one of the most terrible scourges of the infidel. These charges had prevailed so much with Malek Saleh, that he ordered the arrest of Kemeschtekin, and afterwards put him to death. But before the latter act was perpetrated, the people of Harem had thrown off the yoke of Aleppo, and were besieged by the Christian forces under the command of the Count of Flanders and the Prince of Antioch. Of this siege it will be merely necessary to say that it lasted for several months, occupying the Christian troops in a vain and ineffectual effort; and that, in the end, it was terminated by the payment of a sum of money to the besiegers, and an ignominious retreat, after they had spent the time which ought to have been devoted energetically to the reduction of the fortress, in games, drunkenness, and debauchery.*

While such proceedings were taking place in Syria, much more important events occurred on the Arabian frontier of Palestine. Saladin received speedy intelligence that the Christians had broken their truce with Malek Saleh; and, either ignorant of the stipulation which enabled them to do so

* Guil. Tyr. lib. XXI., who in all these details is supported by the Arabian historians.

without a breach of faith, or regarding that stipulation in itself as unjust and iniquitous, he complained loudly of the act, and subsequently caused a number of Christian captives to be beheaded, by way of reprisals. At the same time, with his usual keen and clear-sighted decision, he prepared to take advantage of the gross error which the Christians had committed in consequence of the perfidious conduct of the Count of Flanders.

Instead of attacking the strongest enemy of Palestine, instead of carrying the great bulk of the Latin forces to the point where the kingdom of Jerusalem was menaced by immediate danger, instead of opposing their arms to a monarch actually at war with them, the Christian leaders—shackled by the Count of Flanders, who, against their expressed opinion, insisted upon marching into the territory of a prince with whom they were at peace—had directed their efforts to a quarter where no peril existed, had undertaken an enterprise where little or nothing was to be gained, had deprived the kingdom of Jerusalem of its best troops at the moment when they were most needed, and had left the Arabian frontier exposed to the most powerful and active enemy which the young kingdom had ever encountered.

To suppose that Saladin would not seize the opportunity, was to suppose him deprived of his senses. He knew that the districts of Gaza and Ascalon, and even Jerusalem itself, were almost destitute of

troops; he knew that the bulk of the Christian force was occupied at a distance of several hundred miles from the southern frontier; he knew that the talented, but suffering, monarch of the Latin kingdom was lying ill of a distressing and fatal disease; and that Humphrey de Thoron, the constable of the kingdom, was himself upon a bed of sickness. The redoubtable knights of the Temple and the Hospital, except a few of the former order, who remained to defend the town of Gaza, were wasting their time before Harem, and the way to the enemy's capital seemed at once open before him.

Without delay or hesitation, then, the sultan called all his forces together, bringing more men into the field, and taking greater precaution for their equipment and provision, than he had ever done before; and crossing the desert by forced marches, he reached the ancient town of Laris, where he left a part of his baggage, and a small body of his troops. Eager to make the most rapid progress possible, and confident of success, he did not pause to attack the towns on his way, as was then customary, but passing by Daroun, and leaving even the strong fortress of Gaza unbesieged, he hurried forward towards Ascalon.

The news of his coming, however, had reached Baldwin before the sultan himself arrived at the latter city; and the suffering monarch, suddenly called upon to display the strong qualities of his

mind, forgot the infirmities of his body, summoned his knights to join him, and, with what scanty forces he could collect, marched to meet the enemy. Fixing his head-quarters at Ascalon, the King of Jerusalem endeavoured to increase his forces by all the means in his power, but the rapid approach of Saladin left him no time, and before he had been many days in that city the innumerable forces of the sultan appeared in the neighbourhood. Nothing daunted, Baldwin issued forth from the walls of Ascalon, leaving no more men in the city than were absolutely necessary for its defence. But having reconnoitered the army of the enemy, it was soon found hopeless to attack it, and choosing a strong position, where the deficiency of force might be in some degree remedied by the strength of the ground, the King of Jerusalem waited for Saladin to begin the fight during the whole of the day.

That wary monarch, however, cautious as well as energetic, hesitated to engage Baldwin in the position he had assumed. Numerous single combats, indeed, took place between the cavaliers of the two armies, but these were not suffered to draw on a general battle, and at night the King of Jerusalem retired with his forces into Ascalon. Saladin now suffered himself to be deceived: the small number of men whom he had seen with Baldwin, the immense superiority of his own army, the terror which he perceived his invasion had caused, all induced him to believe that Jerusalem itself would be an

easy prey; and without the slightest fear of his retreat being cut off by the insignificant body of men under the Latin king, he marched forward, leaving Ascalon unattacked, as he had done in the case of Daroun and Gaza.

According to the accounts of the Christian historians, the sultan was accompanied at this time by twenty-five thousand horsemen; of which number eight thousand were chosen troops of cavalry, and one thousand were Mamelukes of his own guard, bearing saffron-coloured tunics of silk over their armour, which was also the dress of Saladin himself. Besides the twenty-five thousand we have mentioned, was an immense number of irregular troops, camel-drivers, and camp-followers; so that his line of march between the mountains and the sea swept the whole country, which was filled with consternation and despair. Ramla and Lydda were nearly deserted before his approach; and the people of Jerusalem itself, abandoning the walls which had stood so many sieges, crowded into the tower of David, as the only sure place of refuge.

Spreading out his light horsemen over the face of the land, and sending on numerous troops before him, the sultan advanced as far as Ramla without meeting an enemy capable of delaying his progress for an hour. But the King of Jerusalem had not been inactive. He had been joined by a part of the inhabitants of Ramla, on their abandonment of that city, and the knights of the Temple, leaving

Gaza to its fate, hastened to bring their undaunted courage and military skill to the succour of the gallant, but unhappy monarch. Even with these reinforcements, we are assured by the Bishop of Tyre, on whose account we can perfectly rely, that Baldwin could only bring into the field three hundred and seventy-five knights. What was the number of foot soldiers and inferior horsemen we do not know. The usual proportion, in those days, was about twelve men to a knight, but in this instance it was probably greater, as it would seem the troops which joined the king from Ramla, and other neighbouring towns, were principally composed of infantry. His army, however, was still infinitely inferior to that of Saladin; but, nevertheless, he once more issued forth from Ascalon, and following the sea coast to conceal his march from the enemy, he outstripped the sultan, and reached Ramla before him, though that city had been already sacked and burnt by Saladin's advance guard under an Armenian of the name of Ivelin.

The two armies came into presence at about eight o'clock in the morning, at a moment when neither expected it, and when a great portion of the Mahommedan forces were absent, having been detached in various directions. Saladin, also, at the time when the Christians first appeared, was engaged in passing the river which flows down to Ramla, and a part of his troops had actually crossed. Taken by surprise, and finding that the enemy was advancing

with the determination of attacking him, Saladin sent off messengers in haste to summon his scattered detachments to rejoin him, but lost not a moment in taking measures to put the forces he had with him into as favourable a position as possible for receiving the charge of the Christians.

Baldwin, however, gave him no time to strengthen himself or to make his dispositions. The Christian knights were well aware that, although the army before them possessed a superiority apparently overwhelming, its numbers might be tripled if any delay took place; and animated with the desire of vengeance for the rapine and devastation of which he had witnessed terrible traces on his march, Baldwin, only pausing to prostrate himself at the foot of the true cross and implore the Divine favour for his arms, gave the signal for his troops to charge, and they rushed upon the enemy still in the confusion of passing the river. A vigorous resistance was made; the nephew of Saladin, named Taki-eddin, displayed the utmost gallantry and skill in defence of his uncle, and saw his own son, a youth of the greatest promise, killed in an attempt to drive back the advancing Christians.

The forces of Saladin, however, were not only embarrassed by the passage of the stream, but also by a strong wind from the north, which blew the dust of the light soil which surrounded them into their eyes. At the same time, the Christians fought with the determination of despair, and

were directed in all their efforts by the king himself and Odo of St. Amand, Grand Master of the Temple. Such was the vigour and fierceness of their charge, that one of the Christian soldiers penetrated to Saladin in the midst of his Mamelukes, and had nearly changed the fortunes of the east by the early death of that great sovereign, when he himself was killed by some of the surrounding Mussulmans. It would seem, indeed, that the sultan was actually wounded, if we may judge that some expressions used by him in a letter to his brother, Touranschah, were not figurative.*

After maintaining the combat for some time, the Mahommedan forces gave way in every quarter, and a terrible slaughter ensued. In vain Saladin attempted to cover the retreat of his army, and save it from total dispersion. Seized with terror at their unexpected defeat, the Mussulmans were scattered abroad in confusion and disarray; nearly all the thousand Mamelukes who formed the body-guard of the sultan were slain, and he himself, almost alone, fled from the fatal field of Ramla, and plunged into the desert.

The Christians pursued the fugitives till night-fall, continuing the slaughter over a space of more than twelve miles. The defeated Mahommedans, in their terror, fell ready victims to the enemy, cast-

* Ibn-Alatir.

ing away even their arms and their clothes in order to escape more rapidly, and leaving behind them the wounded and the weak. The pursuit was renewed on the following morning, and lasted for three more days. The inhabitants of the country resumed their courage; the various bodies which had been detached from the army of Saladin before the battle, lost all order and council, and, ignorant of the localities, exhausted by fatigue, and weakened by hunger and thirst, were dispatched or made prisoners almost without resistance. At the same time, the Arabs of the neighbouring desert took base advantage of the disasters of their fellow Mussulmans, and falling upon the stores and troops which Saladin had left at Laris, they completed that which the sword of the Christians had begun.

Baldwin returned to Ascalon; and, on the fourth day after the battle, which occurred on the 18th of November, the whole of the parties which he had despatched in pursuit rejoined him in that city, bringing in with them an immense number of prisoners, and a vast quantity of captured arms and other booty. During many subsequent days, bands of captives were brought in from the mountains, the forests, and the desert; and many even came and surrendered themselves voluntarily, preferring slavery itself to a painful and lingering death by cold, hunger, and thirst.

In the meantime, Saladin himself made his way across the sands towards Cairo, where, on the first

intimation of his defeat, those whom he had left in authority had, with the policy usually displayed by France, spread the rumour of a great victory.* The sultan suffered severely on his journey, from the want both of food and water, and felt bitterly the severe blow that he had received. But far from allowing it to depress his mind or diminish his exertions, he only found therein a new incentive to fresh efforts against the Christians. It was long, however, ere he could so far recruit his forces as to undertake any great expedition; and in the meantime, the victory they had obtained seemed not only to have given new courage to the Christians, but, by the effect of the mind upon the body, to have renovated the corporeal powers of Baldwin himself. The walls of the city of Jerusalem, which had been suffered to fall into decay, were now repaired; and in the following year the king undertook to construct a strong fortress upon the river Jordan, at a spot which is called the Ford of Jacob.

His object, according to the Christian account, was to restrain the incursions of the wandering bands from the territory of Damascus, which often penetrated into the lands of the Franks, plundering and destroying wherever they came. The Arabian writers, however, assert that the design of Baldwin and the Knights of the Temple—by whom, it would appear, the construction of the fort had been first suggested—was rather to cover a system

* Emad-eddin; he was an eye-witness.

of aggressive warfare against the Mahommedan states, than for self-defence.

The labours went on vigorously for some months; the situation was favourable, and the undertaking undoubtedly important, as the position of the fortress, commanded one of the best passages of the river at the distance of about ten miles from Paneas, or Cesarea Philippi, and it thus greatly strengthened the frontier on the side of Damascus. Six months were employed in erecting it; but while the works were still going on, the King of Jerusalem met with a check, not so severe, it would appear, as that which had befallen Saladin, but certainly more disastrous than the Christian writers would lead us to believe. According to the Arabian account, Baldwin had entered the Damascene territory in the spring of the year, 1179, and had committed great ravages in his course, when he was suddenly met by Ferokhschah, one of Saladin's nephews, who defeated the Christians with great slaughter. Certain it is, even from the account of William of Tyre, who speaks of the event as a mere skirmish, that, whatever was the number of troops engaged, the Franks were totally defeated, that the king himself was in great danger of being taken or killed, and that several of the most distinguished leaders of Palestine were slain. The Constable, Humphrey of Thoron, himself, famous for his personal strength and courage, was mortally wounded in defending his sovereign; and, after lingering for ten days, died on the 22nd of

April, leaving behind him few so disinterested, so politic, and so brave.*

Some of his acts were blamed at the time, and some appear undoubtedly to have been weak; but he was universally regretted by his contemporaries; and after his death a great and disastrous change came over the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The person who now seemed most powerfully to influence the military operations of Baldwin, was Odo, of St. Amand, Grand Master of the Temple, a man undoubtedly skilful in war, but who, if we are to believe William of Tyre, was of a perverse, proud, and arrogant disposition, and neither loved nor respected by any one.

Elated by the victory which his nephew had achieved, the sultan advanced from the side of Damascus, to which city he had returned some time before, and attacked the newly-erected fort at Jacob's Ford, but was repulsed with considerable loss. He then, it would appear, entered into negotiations with the Templars, who had been entrusted with its defence, and offered first sixty thousand, and then a hundred thousand pieces of gold, if they would cause it to be destroyed. The offer was indignantly refused; but the very fact that it was made shews that the Templars had established a reputation for covetousness even amongst the infidel. Unable to reduce the place, the sultan then advanced

* William of Tyre places this battle in the year 1178; but the Arabians, as I have said, in the following year.

into the territory of Sidon, and pitching his camp between the walls of Cesarea Philippi and the neighbouring river, he detached several large bodies of his horsemen to ravage the country round. Flame and the sword were carried far and near; but the forces of Jerusalem, having somewhat recovered from the panic caused by their late disaster, were gathered together by Baldwin, the Count of Tripoli, and the Grand Master of the Temple, and hastened, by forced marches, towards the scene of the invasion.

Unwilling, apparently, to attack Saladin in his camp before the arrival of some bodies of infantry, which were unable to keep up with the rapid advance of the men-at-arms, the monarch and his knights, with their mounted followers, descended the side of Libanus from the village of Mesaphar, to a place called Mergium, and prepared to cut off the detachments of Saladin as they returned to his camp.

The sultan, in the meantime, having learned that the Christians were approaching with greater forces than he had imagined they could collect, sent messengers to recal his troops in haste. But the position which his adversaries occupied was so well chosen for the object they had in view, that the principal corps of the Mussulmans who had been ravaging the country of Sidon was forced to pass before them, exposing its flank to their attack. The opportunity was not lost, and the Mahommedan cavalry was charged and routed with great slaughter.

The fugitives were pursued without order or caution; and the generals of the victorious force seem to have left their troops to scatter themselves abroad in search of booty, while they themselves gave way to unjustifiable exultation, and a feeling of security which was very far from being real. In the meanwhile, Saladin was marching to the support of his detachments, and meeting the flying troops, he rallied, and brought them back with him to the battle. The Christians were now taken quite unprepared; and though the Grand Master of the Temple and the Count of Tripoli made a short stand, upon a hill which they occupied with a small body of cavalry, they were soon routed by the superior force of the sultan, and a complete and disastrous dispersion of the Christian army was effected. A part of Baldwin's host took refuge in Sidon, and he himself made his escape with difficulty from the battle. The Count of Tripoli also fled to Tyre, accompanied by a few of his own soldiery, but immense numbers were slain or taken prisoners, and amongst the latter were the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, with Baldwin of Ramla, one of the most distinguished knights of Palestine. The principal fruit of this victory was the fortress which the Christians had erected at the Ford of Jacob, which was reduced by Saladin without difficulty, and immediately rased to the ground.

Consternation spread throughout Palestine, and

had not some succour arrived from Europe about the same time, it is probable that the kingdom of Jerusalem would have, even then, been subjugated by the victorious arms of the sultan. But while these disasters were taking place in Syria, the Count of Troyes, and several other great vassals of the crown of France, were traversing the sea with a considerable body of troops to aid the unfortunate King of Jerusalem in his wars. They found the whole realm in a state of terror and confusion, and the appearance of Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, at the head of a large force within the territories of Baldwin, instead of giving hope and comfort to the monarch, added new apprehensions to those which he already entertained; for he was well aware of the fragile hold he had upon the faith of his ambitious relations, and knew that, while the leprosy from which he suffered was daily making frightful ravages in his body, and destroying his corporeal powers, the nobles by whom he was surrounded were looking eagerly for the time when his death, or complete decay, would leave the crown of Jerusalem a prize to the artful or the strong. The arrival of the Prince of Antioch at Jerusalem proved more disastrous to the Christian dominion in Palestine than the conquering arms of Saladin; for it hurried on Baldwin to take that step which ultimately proved the ruin of his kingdom.

There was at that time residing in the Holy Land

a nobleman belonging to a family of Poictou, celebrated for its turbulence and its violence, vices from which weakness is almost inseparable. His name was Guy of Lusignan, and the first proofs which he had given of possessing the hereditary qualities of his house was the murder of the Earl of Salisbury, in the year 1168, in which act, although it is proved that he was joined with various members of his own family, there can be no doubt he bore the principal share. Driven out of Poictou by the vengeance of Henry II., the murderer took refuge in the Holy Land, and on him the King of Jerusalem now bestowed the hand of his sister in a moment of rash haste, influenced, it would appear, more by the inclinations of Sybilla herself than by any considerations of policy or right. No mighty alliances were gained, no accession of military strength could be acquired, by the union of the monarch's sister with the fugitive homicide. The prelates and nobles of Jerusalem seem to have been taken by surprise, and thunderstruck by the monarch's determination; and William of Tyre declares that he could have found plenty of noble gentlemen in the kingdom much more suitable, in every respect, to become the husband of his sister than Guy of Lusignan. Such, however, was the haste with which the marriage was concluded, that no time was allowed for remonstrance; and, contrary to all the usages of those days, the ceremony was celebrated during the

solemnities of Easter, much to the scandal of the devout men of Palestine.

The disasters of the kingdom of Jerusalem seemed now approaching their height. Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, was retiring in disgust; the Count of Tripoli viewed the proceedings of the king with a cold and indignant eye; the Grand Master of the Templars was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy; the mother of the king, a weak and violent woman, ruled his councils during the frequent attacks of illness which from time to time incapacitated him for business; his sister was married to a powerless, incapable, and intemperate man; the Christian troops were scattered over the country, disunion reigned throughout the land, and Saladin, with a numerous army, was actually encamped in the territory of Palestine, carrying pillage and destruction through the whole of the Paneade, while a fleet of Egyptian galleys was approaching the coast, with the intention of attacking Berytes. Accidental circumstances, however, occurred to delay the final catastrophe. A succession of dry seasons, during which scarcely a drop of rain had fallen, had so dried up the territories of Damascus, that no forage was to be found for the support of the sultan's cavalry, and at the same time rumours of an immense fleet and army being in preparation on the coast of Sicily for the purpose of invading Egypt, reached the ears of Saladin, and disposed him to listen to proposals for a truce.

Messengers were sent to him by the King of Jerusalem for the purpose of negotiating; and a suspension of arms by sea and land was agreed upon; in the arrangement of which, it would seem, Baldwin, either with or without the concurrence of the Count of Tripoli, neglected to include the territories of that prince. The result was, that as soon as the treaty was signed, Saladin removed, with his whole force, into the county of Tripoli; and while the count, his barons, and the knights of the Temple and Hospital, remained shut up in their castles and strong places, the whole of the open country was ravaged by the Syrian horsemen.

Shortly after, the Egyptian fleet presented itself before Berytes, but, learning that a truce had been concluded between the sultan and the King of Jerusalem, the chiefs of the expedition abstained from any violence, and sailed for Antarados, or Tortosa, in the county of Tripoli, where they committed some ravages; but Saladin having about the same time concluded a separate treaty with the count, his fleet was ordered to retire, and he himself retreated, in order to settle the internal affairs of Syria before he once more turned his steps towards Egypt.

An interval of peace succeeded; but, far from that period of repose being employed by the Christians of Palestine in the consolidation of their power and in preparation to resist the enemy, new dissensions spread over the land, and the symptoms of internal

decay became every day more and more apparent. The disease under which the King of Jerusalem was suffering produced not only weakness of resolution, but great irritation of temper; and jealousy and suspicion not unnaturally followed the consciousness of decaying powers. At the same time, the vices of one of the princes of the land, and the rash and violent interference of the clergy, brought about new evils, and utterly precluded the wiser and more disinterested nobles of Palestine from deriving those advantages for their country from the existence of peace, which they would doubtless have striven to obtain under other circumstances.

Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, who, after the death of his first wife, had married the niece of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, had been for some time carrying on an intrigue with a beautiful woman of the name of Sybilla; and after the death of the emperor, which took place on the 24th of September, 1180, he repudiated his legitimate consort, and united himself by the bonds of an illegal marriage to the concubine. The clergy accused the partner of his guilt of magic; and the Patriarch of Antioch, displaying apparently more virulence than Christian charity, commanded the prince, in the tone of a sovereign, to abandon his adulterous course and receive again the wife he had cast off. To exhort, to reprove, to insist on the reparation of a public scandal, might be perfectly consistent with the character and office of the patriarch;

but it is impossible to read the history of those times without perceiving that in the present instance that personage proceeded with angry violence and imprudent haste to excommunication and anathema, exciting party faction in the land against its prince, and ending with the brutal and intolerable measure of interdict, a weapon not only the most tyrannical and iniquitous, but the most dangerous to herself, as well as to others, that was ever wielded by the domineering church of Rome.*

The nobles of the principality were divided between the ecclesiastical party and that of their sovereign. The patriarch cast himself into a fortress, which belonged, we are told, to the church, laid in store of provisions, and collected a body of soldiery; and there he underwent a siege by the Prince of Antioch, using the temporal sword as vigorously and unscrupulously as he had done the spiritual. The whole land was in confusion; and though from time to time an incomplete and uncertain pacification took place, the important territory in which this state of discord existed seemed open to the attack of any enemy who might choose to assail it. Indeed, many apprehensions were entertained lest Bohemond himself should call the arms of Saladin to aid him in opposing the authority of the patriarch and those who had confederated with him.

New views, however, were now opening before the Sultan of Egypt; and although he never aban-

* See William of Tyr., lib. XXII.

doned his great purpose of overthrowing the kingdom of Jerusalem, and driving the Christians from the Holy Land, he suffered himself to be diverted for a time from that object by the prospect of removing the only flaw in the edifice of his power—of supplying the only link that was wanting in the chain with which he had already encircled the devoted empire of the Franks. In the midst of the fierce contentions which were raging in Antioch, and while Saladin himself was preparing to take up arms again against the kingdom of Jerusalem, Malek Saleh, son of Noureddin, and sovereign of Aleppo, died at the age of nineteen years, on the 4th of December, 1181. This prince, although it would appear he had treated upon several occasions with the Christians, was a devout and pious follower of Mahommed;* but nevertheless, as may be supposed, he viewed with an eye of hatred and jealousy the ambitious soldier who had stripped him of the territories of his father; and in order at once to place the dominions which had been left under his rule in the hands of a true disciple of the prophet after his own death, and to guard them from the encroaching grasp of Saladin, he named for his successor his cousin, Ezz-eddin Massoud, Emir of Moussoul, the most powerful and wealthy prince remaining of the family of Zengui.

When the news of Malek Saleh's death and will reached Saladin, who was still in Egypt, he was

* Kemal-eddin.

deeply mortified at the disposition which had been made regarding his territories, fearing that the power and influence of Ezz-eddin might reduce him to the necessity of either abandoning his views upon Aleppo, or of entering into a long and difficult war with a prince of his own faith, and thus giving to the Christians of Palestine time to forget their discords, and to recruit their forces. His designs, however, were favoured by unexpected circumstances. A new claimant to the principality of Aleppo started up in the person of a brother of the Prince of Moussoul, named Emad-eddin, Emir of Singar, who, after some threats and negotiations, induced Ezz-eddin to resign his pretensions to the succession of Malek Saleh, receiving the town of Singar in exchange.

Powerless and unsupported, Emad-eddin could oppose no effectual resistance to the forces of the Sultan of Egypt, and Saladin instantly prepared to take advantage of his weakness. In the first instance, however, he thought fit to write to the Khalif of Bagdad, in order to obtain the authority of the Mussulman pontiff for the usurpation which he was about to commit; and it would seem that, while waiting for his reply, he proceeded to give a new proof of zeal for the Mahommedan faith, by attacking the territories of the Christians as he led his forces forward towards fresh conquests in Syria. A pretext for breaking the truce was not wanting. The famous Renault de Chatillon had, in consequence of his marriage, become Lord of Carac, a

town and district situated to the extreme south of the kingdom of Jerusalem, between the Dead Sea and Arabia Petrea; and whether from some private and sudden quarrel with the Arabs in his vicinity, or from the movements of his restless, military spirit, he had entered into hostilities with his neighbours of the desert, and had captured many of them, whom he refused to give up, when summoned to do so in virtue of the truce.

About the same period, a large vessel, containing a multitude of Christian pilgrims, was driven on shore, apparently without much injury, on the coast of Egypt.* The pilgrims pleaded the truce, and demanded permission to pass through Egypt on their way to Jerusalem; but Saladin cast them into prison, and detained them as hostages for the reparation of the wrongs which he pretended to have suffered. Messengers were despatched by the sultan to Jerusalem to treat with Baldwin in regard to the misunderstandings which had arisen; and William of Tyre assures us that in all these transactions Saladin was only seeking a pretext for renewing the war. But even by the good prelate's own account, it would seem that the sultan had just cause for offence, and we only farther know that he proceeded at once to take vengeance for the injuries he complained of, real or supposed.

During the years 1181 and 1182 the drought and famine which reigned throughout a great part of Syria, had driven large bodies of the Mahommedan

* William of Tyr., lib. XII.

population into Egypt, where the seasons had been more favourable; and Saladin found that he had larger forces at his disposal than he had ever before brought into the field. On the other hand, Baldwin, weakened in mind as well as in body, by the disease under which he laboured, had contrived to alienate from his councils the most experienced and skilful politician and soldier who yet remained for the defence of the Holy Land. The Count of Tripoli had now for nearly two years been occupied within the boundaries of his own dominions, taking advantage of the interval of peace to put himself in a state of defence against renewal of the war. The count, however, held in right of his wife the town and territory of Tiberiad, within the limits of the actual kingdom of Jerusalem, and after terminating the affairs which detained him at Tripoli, he advanced towards the Lake of Tiberias, never doubting, apparently, the friendly disposition of the king. Nevertheless, Baldwin, who had now fallen entirely into the hands of his mother and uncle, both of whom feared the approach of so wise and powerful a prince as the Count of Tripoli, was induced to send messengers, commanding him to retire from the frontiers of his dominions; and the count, with natural feelings of indignation and anger, retrod his steps to his own territories. The councils of Baldwin, however, were soon changed. More discreet and disinterested persons represented to him the danger of irritating his powerful vassal, and

depriving the throne of Jerusalem of the valiant arm which had been raised so often in its defence. Negotiations were entered into; and the Count of Tripoli, suffering himself to be appeased, re-entered the kingdom, and consulted with the monarch and the rest of the nobles in regard to the best means of meeting the impending storm which was approaching from the side of Egypt.

His advice, however, though sought, was not followed; and instead of encountering the enemy in a strong position on the frontier, at the moment when the Mussulman troops were exhausted by a long march through the desert, according to the plan proposed by the Count of Tripoli, Baldwin suffered Saladin to enter his very territories, and refresh himself amongst the streams and pastures of Palestine. The once active and energetic warriors of the Cross remained in idleness at the distance of thirty miles from the camp of the sultan, while the rest of the kingdom, left exposed and defenceless, was overrun by the troops of Syria and Mesopotamia. Consternation and even indifference seemed to have taken complete possession of the Christian princes, and Saladin was not only suffered to give his forces provisions and repose, but even to ravage the country, and pursue his march to Damascus unmolested.

While negotiating with the independent princes of Mesopotamia, in order to prepare the way for the further conquests which he meditated, the sultan

again entered Palestine; and, after suffering one check, in which we are assured he lost a thousand men, and retreated in confusion, he once more advanced, and laid siege to Berytes, in conjunction with a fleet which had been dispatched from Egypt to co-operate with the Mussulman army in the attack upon that place.*

Baldwin, now roused by the imminent danger which threatened him, marched at once to the deliverance of Berytes, only pausing for a short time at Tyre to make preparation for carrying on the war by sea as well as by land. With a degree of rapidity which astonished the inhabitants of Palestine, who for many years had seen nothing but careless inactivity, thirty-three galleys, well armed and manned, were collected in the ports of Acre and Tyre, and in eight days were ready to put to sea. The approach of this formidable armament, and the march of the King of Jerusalem, shewed the Mussulman monarch that he must abandon the hope of capturing Berytes at a blow; and, after having continued the attack for several days, he retired once more into the territory of Damascus, and prepared to carry on those more important operations which he regarded but as preliminaries to the complete subjugation of Palestine.

* The Arabian writers say that his fleet never arrived; but William of Tyre, who was an eye-witness to the events, declares that a fleet of thirty vessels anchored off Berytes a few days after the sultan appeared upon the land side of that city.

Notwithstanding the success of his schemes and the progress of his arms, the sultan was at this moment in a situation of considerable peril, which would, in all probability, have ended in his destruction, had there been anything like vigour left in the kingdom of Jerusalem. His Syrian territories were now placed between two inimical countries, each naturally powerful, and only rendered feeble by accidental circumstances. On the one side were his ancient and inveterate enemies, the Christians ; and, on the other, was Ezz-eddin, the Prince of Moussoul, possessing large and populous dominions, many strong cities, great wealth, and a numerous army. Ezz-eddin had now learned that Saladin meditated his destruction, and not long before he had entered into a treaty with the Franks of Palestine, by which he bound himself to pay annually during twelve years a sum of ten thousand pieces of gold, and to give them aid in recovering the towns and districts which they had lately lost and opposing the progress of the Egyptian sultan upon the eastern side of Libanus.* The Christians on their part engaged to attack Saladin at all points, and thus, if possible, to divert his efforts from Moussoul. But their internal dissensions, the weakness to which they were reduced, the daily decay of the king, and probably, also, the illness of the Count of Tripoli, who, about this time, was seized with one of the fevers of the country, pre-

* Abou-schame.

vented them from executing their part of the contract; and the sultan was left for many months to pursue his ambitious projects against his fellow-Mussulmans uninterrupted.

One, indeed, of the Frankish nobles planned an expedition which we shall have to mention hereafter, and which, had it proved successful, would have strangely changed the aspect of affairs in the East. A plundering incursion was made into the territory of Damascus, and a fort was taken on the side of Libanus; but I can find no record of any other enterprise of importance undertaken by the Christians to divert Saladin from the efforts which he now directed against the Prince of Moussoul. The resistance offered to the sultan's progress was at first poor and inefficient. Leaving Harem and Aleppo behind him unattacked, he advanced rapidly upon Edessa, Amida, and Singar, which fell before him one after another, after very little opposition. He then turned his arms against Moussoul itself, but here a better defence was made; and after having besieged this city for some time, he was obliged to retire unsuccessful.

Re-crossing the Euphrates, Saladin now proceeded to attack Aleppo, of which city Emad-eddin had taken possession. The place was filled with a race of warlike and determined men, to whom the memory of Noureddin was especially dear, and in whose sight Saladin himself was an ungrateful usurper, so that everything promised the most determined resist-

ance; but the weak prince who had obtained the sovereignty of Aleppo in opposition to the will of Malek Saleh, was seized with alarm at the mere renown of Saladin; and, entering into a secret treaty with the sultan, gave up the territory after a futile effort to defend it, and received in exchange the towns of Singar and Nisiba. The people of Aleppo viewed his conduct with contempt, and passed under the rule of Saladin with loud and scornful reproaches against their former sovereign.*

After this success, in order to leave no point of danger behind him in the new attack which he meditated upon Moussoul, Saladin proceeded to besiege Harem. The Mussulman leader who commanded in the place not only prepared to resist vigorously, but threatened to call in the Christians of Palestine to his aid, if the sultan did not desist from his enterprise. The garrison, however, either terrified at the arms of Saladin, or indignant at the governor's threat of treating with the enemies of their faith, made their leader prisoner, and surrendered the city to the sultan, thus putting him in possession of that which he seems to have constantly aimed at, an uninterrupted extent of dominion, shutting in the Christians between his own territories and the sea, without the interposition of any independent state which might thwart his views or impede his movements.

He had now under his sole command the whole

* Kemal-eddin.

country on the east of the kingdom of Jerusalem, from Mount Taurus to Arabia, skirting along Libanus, and comprising a part of Mesopotamia. To the south and west he ruled over Arabia Felix, Egypt, and Nubia; his galleys swept the sea-coast; and if a claim could be laid to the desert by any party, it was undoubtedly to him that it owned obedience. The circle of his power was now drawn close round the devoted kingdom of Jerusalem, which lay within its mountains like a besieged fortress, hemmed in on every side by adverse armies.

Nevertheless, Saladin still did not feel himself secure so long as the powerful Prince of Moussoul remained unsubdued; and there can be no doubt that he would have turned his arms immediately against Ezz-eddin had not passion interfered, and revenge for a moment called him in another direction. Towards the end of 1182, an appearance of greater activity had manifested itself amongst the Franks of Palestine. The Count of Tripoli had recovered from the fever which had attacked him during the year before. Baldwin roused himself to his last efforts against the enemy; and two invasions of the territory of Damascus took place, in which great ravages were committed, but no important successes obtained, except the recovery of a fort which had been captured sometime before by the troops of Saladin. These events, however, would probably not have disturbed the sultan in his proceedings; but some time previous an act had been

committed by the famous Renault de Chatillon which touched Saladin in the most tender part, and by rousing all the fanatic within him, had excited an enmity that could only be quenched in blood.

We have already said that Renault de Chatillon had succeeded, in right of his wife, to the town and territory of Carac, formerly called the Stone of the Desert, one of the extreme points of the kingdom of Jerusalem, towards Arabia Petrea. During the absence of Saladin, his active and enterprising mind conceived the project of opening a communication between Palestine and the Red Sea, by seizing upon the small town of Ela, situated on its shores; and, nothing daunted by the difficulties of the undertaking, he caused a number of boats to be carried across the desert on the backs of camels,* and launched in the Bay of Ælana. The siege of Ela was immediately commenced; but as Renault de Chatillon had a considerable force at his command, consisting not only of three hundred choice soldiers from Palestine, but of a large body of converted Arabs,† he directed plundering expeditions to be pushed along the shores of the Red Sea, and even embraced the daring resolution of attacking Mecca and Medina, with the intention of carrying off the body of Mahommed from his tomb. Nor was success improbable; for the Mussulmans on the coast were taken by surprise, and fled in every direction before the invaders, who swept the country of a rich

* Ibn-alatir. † Mogr-eddin.

booty, and arrived within one day's journey of Medina before they met with any interruption.

Ela itself had made a determined resistance ; and news of this unexpected attack was soon carried to Malek-adel, the brother of Saladin, who had been left in charge of the sultan's Egyptian dominions. Equipping in haste an overpowering fleet upon the western shore of the Red Sea, Malek-adel dispatched it to the Asiatic side, under the command of an experienced officer, named Hossan-eddin, called also Loulou, who with great promptitude and vigour sailed at once for Ela, and forced the Christians to raise the siege of that city. He then pursued the detachment which had descended the Arabian Gulf, overtook it at the moment when Medina seemed actually within its grasp, and attacking the unfortunate Christians with vastly superior numbers, drove them into the mountains, slaughtering them in all directions. Some few indeed were made prisoners, but their fate proved worse than if they had fallen at once under the hand of the enemy. They were only reserved, we find, to be put to death, by the express order of Saladin,* at an after period, some offered as sacrifices instead of sheep before the Kaaba at Mecca, and others devoutly butchered by the Mussulman doctors of Grand Cairo.

Renault of Chatillon, with but few followers, made his escape to Carac ; but the daring impiety which he had meditated rankled for years in the breast of

* Abou-schame, who gives the Sultan's letter.

Saladin, and at the time excited such a thirst for vengeance, that immediately after the surrender of Harem, the sultan, though not without some hesitation, turned his arms against Carac, instead of leading his troops once more to the attack of Moussoul.

Every day had added to the power and dominions of Saladin; and the princes of the Latin kingdom had viewed his progress with terror and dismay. Necessity at length compelled them to lay aside their dissensions for a time, and when they now saw their great enemy pausing at Damascus, as if hesitating which way he should turn his arms, each man forgot his private grievances and projects, and hastened, with what forces he could collect, to the defence of the state.

By this time, however, the state of the unhappy Baldwin had become such, that though he still clung to power, he was evidently incapable of government. He was blind, impotent, lame, with his extremities in a state of putrefaction, and his whole body eaten up with a loathsome disease.* Nevertheless he laboured earnestly to conceal the ravages of the fatal malady, continued to display his royal state, and would not suffer the sceptre to fall from his powerless hand till, in the beginning of 1183, a fever was added to his other ills at the very time when Saladin, at the head of an immense force, was on the point of entering his dominions; and, in a mo-

* William of Tyre, lib. XXII.

ment of haste and weakness, he named Guy of Lusignan regent of the kingdom, reserving to himself the city of Jerusalem, and a sufficient income to maintain the royal dignity.

Instant dissensions ensued. None but those who were personally attached to the new regent, or who had been corrupted by his promises, even affected to approve this important act on the part of the king. Every one saw and felt that the man whom he had chosen to guide the civil and military affairs of the kingdom at the moment of imminent peril, was not only vain and insolent, but weak, worthless, and incapable; and although the various princes who had brought their troops to the place of muster at the summons of the king did not actually withdraw from the camp, it was not to be expected that either union or energy should be displayed by an army directed by such a feeble general, and led by such discontented chiefs.

Had such not been the case, and had any of the experienced warriors of the Holy Land been entrusted with the command of the forces assembled at the Seforitan fountain, there can be little doubt that great temporary advantages might have been gained, even if a more fortunate turn had not been given for ever to the military affairs of Palestine. Extraordinary danger had produced extraordinary exertion, and the army was the strongest which had been collected in the Holy Land during the last fifty years. Thirteen hundred knights, and more than

fifteen thousand foot, all completely armed, and led by the most distinguished nobles of the country, were there assembled for the defence of their homes and of their hearths; and means had been taken not only to furnish this force with supplies for the time being, but also to provide resources for the future in a manner which is well worthy of more particular notice.

In moments of great and pressing difficulty the same measures generally present themselves to all states, however different may be their habits and customs at other periods; and things that strike us as novelties, produced by the exigences of our own situation, will often be found upon the page of history, adopted by men under similar circumstances in various remote ages. At a general assembly of the nobles and people of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with the consent and approbation of the king, it was determined, in the imminent necessity of the time, to have recourse to a property and income tax.* Assessors were appointed to estimate the property and income of each person in the realm; measures

* In reading the preamble of the document preserved to us of William of Tyre, we could almost fancy that we were perusing the commencement of a British act of parliament. The following are the terms in which it begins: "Hæc est forma colligendi census, qui de communi omnium principum, tam ecclesiasticorum, quam secularium, et de assensu universæ plebis regni Hierosolymorum, pro communi utilitate ejusdem Regni, contra imminentes necessitates, colligi debet."

were taken to insure individuals against surcharge and afford them the power of appeal; the assessors were bound by oath not to reveal the secrets of any man's fortune, which they might discover in the execution of their duty; and the lower class were in some degree protected against the pressure of the tax. The impost was fixed at one per cent. upon property, and two per cent. upon income derived from ordinary revenues,* while those who laboured for their bread, and whose income was derived from pay or salary, were with justice imposed only to half the amount, though they were not absolutely exempted from bearing a share in the burdens of the state.

Jerusalem was thus in a better condition for defence than she had been for many years, and when Saladin at length entered the territory, and spreading his troops abroad, commenced as usual by ravaging the country round, every one expected to see the days of the victory of Ramla renewed, and the invader driven back in confusion to his own land. Such hopes were disappointed, however; the Sultan marched on by the lake of Tiberias, passed through Galilee, and encamped at the foot of Mount Gilboa, by the side of the ancient town of Jezrael, in the neighbourhood of the fountain of Tubenia. The forces of Jerusalem then quitted their position, and traversing the mountains of

* This included all revenues of landed proprietors, monasteries, churches, &c.

Nazareth, approached the camp of the enemy. On their appearance, Saladin removed a short distance from the fountain; but still keeping near the river, which supplied his troops with water, he took up a strong position amongst the rocks, whence he could maintain his communication with the detachments which he had sent forth to pillage the adjacent country.

The army of the Franks encamped near the fountain itself, and during eight days remained in perfect inactivity; the experienced leaders seeing "with indignation," to use the words of William of Tyre, "that in the midst of such great perils, and the pressure of such necessity, interests so important had been committed to a man unknown, indiscreet, and incapable."

It would appear, however, that the army of the sultan was still superior in number to that of his opponents; that the position which he had taken up added great advantages, and that the principal detachments which had left his army could be easily recalled in a moment of danger. Both hosts seem in some degree to have dreaded the encounter, and though there can be no doubt that in former times the chivalrous spirit of the crusader would have induced him to attack a much larger force than that which Saladin now commanded, under even more disadvantageous circumstances; yet, on the present occasion, the troops of the Sultan were allowed to retire, without an effort being made to give them

battle, after having boldly remained for eight days within one mile of the Christian camp.

What were the motives which induced Saladin himself to retreat towards Damascus we do not know, for the Arabian historians pass over this expedition with but little, if any notice. Nevertheless, it is clear that he was determined upon taking signal vengeance for the invasion of the holy places of his faith by the Lord of Carac. A letter written by him at this time to Malek-adel, breathes nothing but rage and fury against the Franks. "The infidels," he says, "have violated the cradle and the refuge of Islamism; they have profaned our sanctuary; they have polluted it with their looks;" and he exhorts his brother, in the most sanguinary terms, to shew no mercy towards those who have committed such an offence.

Scarcely had he quitted the territory of Jerusalem, however, ere he re-appeared at another point with as large an army as before, supplied on this occasion with the cumbrous military machines which were in those days necessary for carrying on the siege of a fortified city. Passing through the land of the children of Ammon, and through Moab, he approached with rapid marches the town of Carac, and it soon became evident to all that the siege of that place was the object of his expedition.

But a great change had by this time come over the councils of Jerusalem. Baldwin had somewhat recovered from the fever which had attacked him in

Nazareth, and convinced by the events of the last campaign that Guy of Lusignan was utterly incapable of governing the kingdom, he listened to the representations of his most experienced nobles, withdrew from him the regency; and, declaring the young Baldwin, his sister's son by her first husband, William of Montferrat, heir to the throne, he required all the nobles of the land to take an oath of fidelity to the prince, having previously caused the child, then scarcely five years old, to be anointed, and crowned in the church of the Resurrection. Every one now looked for the appointment of a regent, as it was evident that the king himself was incapable of performing the duties of his office. All eyes also turned towards the Count of Tripoli; but the ancient jealousy of the king towards him seems to have prevented Baldwin from taking the necessary step, for which his people were so eager; and on learning that Saladin had laid siege to Carac, the monarch himself, though his body was one mass of infirmities, determined to lead his army in person to the assistance of Renault de Chatillon; nor was it till a tedious march along the bank of the lake Asphaltites, to the town of Zoar, then called Palmer, had proved to him his incapacity for such exertions, that he requested the Count of Tripoli to take the command of the forces of Jerusalem.

In the meanwhile, the siege of Carac had proceeded for nearly a month. It seems doubtful whether Renault de Chatillon had cast himself into

the place with the knowledge that it was about to be attacked, or that he was there accidentally, celebrating the marriage of Humphrey de Thoron, the younger, with the youngest sister of the king. Certain, however, it is that the inhabitants of Carac were in the midst of the festivities of the wedding when Saladin appeared before the walls, and that the place was full of the minstrels, buffoons, and players on musical instruments, who usually, in those days flocked to the scene of all such joyous ceremonies. The citadel itself was crowded with people of every sort and condition, and we are even told that it was difficult for the men at arms to move about the ramparts for the defence of the place, on account of the multitudes which thronged together in every part of the building. Fortunately it so happened, however, that the citadel was amply provided with food for the numbers it contained, and Renault de Chatillon himself, one of the most celebrated knights of the time, prepared to offer a vigorous resistance. It would seem, indeed, that the arms and machines of war necessary to carry this determination into execution were wanting; and the town, situated below the castle, was very feeble in several parts of its fortifications. The Lord of Carac himself apparently committed an error in attempting to retain the suburbs, which were only strong by their position, and were speedily taken by the enemy; a body of whom had well nigh entered the citadel itself, together with the retreating forces of the Franks.

The place, however, was saved by the gallant determination of a knight named Ivenus, who for some time defended, alone, the bridge and gate against all the power of the adversary.

Night and day for more than three weeks Saladin ceased not to batter the walls of Carac with immense blocks of stone, thrown from eight catapults, with a degree of precision and accuracy which seems to have astonished the Christians. Not a man could shew himself upon the ramparts without becoming a mark for the arrows and other missiles of the Mussulmans; and so exact was their aim that the soldiers dared not even look through the loopholes, for fear of meeting death from the unerring bows of the enemy.

The defences resisted all the efforts of the Mahommedan general, however; and at length the march of the army of Jerusalem gave notice to Saladin that he must either raise the siege, or risk a pitched battle under the walls of Carac. The Arabian and Latin historians differ greatly in regard to the events that follow. William of Tyre declares that Saladin retreated upon Damascus as soon as the Christian army appeared in his neighbourhood, and was placed under the command of the Count of Tripoli. The Mahommedan writers, on the contrary, assure us that he marched to meet the king of Jerusalem, but that the Franks took up an impregnable position, and avoided the battle which he offered them. Various particulars, however, lead me to

imagine that the account of William of Tyre is the most accurate; for the Arabian authors seem to have confounded, in regard to several points, this expedition against Carac with Saladin's preceding invasion of the territory of Palestine. At the same time, it is evident from the events which followed, that the renown of the Count of Tripoli was greatly increased by the deliverance of Carac, which could scarcely have been the case if he had refused the battle for which the Christian knights were eager, and had pursued exactly the same course which had brought so much reproach upon the army commanded by Guy of Lusignan.

Against the latter the anger of Baldwin, by private as well as by public causes, was now increased to such a pitch, that he determined, if possible, to divorce him from his sister, and to strip him of the territories which he had obtained with her. Nor did he keep this resolution secret; and the husband of Sybilla becoming acquainted with the designs against him, quitted the army privately, and returning in haste to Ascalon, urged his wife to join him at that city, or at Jaffa, both of which places they held of the crown of Jerusalem, in order that they might resist the somewhat unjust and rash determination of the king. Baldwin sent messengers to require his immediate return, but Lusignan excused himself on the plea of illness, and the king pursued him to Ascalon, at the gates of which city the monarch was refused admittance by his sister's

husband, and proceeded at once to Jaffa, taking possession of that town, and placing his own officers in authority.

The patriarch, with the grand masters of the Temple and the Hospital endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between Baldwin and his brother-in-law; but they failed in effecting their object; and, after some fresh provocations had been given by Guy of Lusignan, the king made up his mind to offer the regency of the kingdom to the Count of Tripoli, with the universal consent and approbation of his whole people.*

* Here ends the history of William of Tyre, at least as it has come down to us: but I am strongly inclined to believe that the Archbishop himself continued it for several years after this period, though the manuscript of the latter part might very likely be lost during the various journeys which he afterwards undertook. Bernard the Treasurer, or Hugh Plagon, whichever was the author of the well known continuation of William of Tyre, seems to me to shew indications of having borrowed considerably from some writings of the archbishop, referring to periods posterior to that at which the existing manuscript of William of Tyre ceases. This, however, is a mere conjecture; but I cannot conceive what Mr. Mills, the well known historian of the crusades, could mean when he said, speaking of the year 1173, "My faithful chronicler, William of Tyre, now fails me;" for the pure and undoubted text of William of Tyre down to 1183, ten years after the period when Mr. Mills makes it cease, is given in the "Gesta Dei per Francos," and this is, perhaps, the most important part of that author's writings, as it refers entirely to events which he witnessed, and transactions in which he took an important share. The reign of Baldwin the

The count, however, shewed the careful prudence of a wise man, and the thoughtful disinterestedness of a good one. While he pointed out the difficulties under which the country laboured, and the terrible responsibility which must rest upon any one assuming the reins of government at such a moment, he expressed his readiness to accept the proposal of the king upon certain conditions, calculated not less to promote the best interests of the kingdom, than to secure himself against loss and false accusation. An infant prince was heir-apparent to the throne; failing him, two collateral heiresses presented themselves, both daughters of Almeric, the father of Baldwin. The one, Sybilla, claiming in right of elder birth; the second, Isabella, springing from a more legitimate union. The first wife of Almeric was Agnes de Courtenay, who had been betrothed to Hugh of Ibelin, Lord of Ramla, from whom Almeric had carried her off, and had married her, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of the church, being then merely Count of Jaffa and of

Leper prepared the way for the fall of Jerusalem, and the conquest of the Holy Land, by Saladin, and therefore everything that took place under that monarch has an important bearing upon the life and actions of Richard Cœur-de-Lion. But even had such not been the case, I think I should have been tempted to enter at large into this remarkable part of the history of Palestine, as nothing deserving the name of a narrative of those transactions has been given in the English language that I know of. Mr. Mills, either from want of information or neglect, dismisses the whole history of Baldwin in less than two pages.

Ascalon. On his accession to the throne, however, after having had two children by her as Count of Jaffa, Almeric was forced to divorce his wife, Agnes, who united herself immediately with Hugh of Ibelin, while the king entered into a second marriage with Mary, daughter of the Sebastocrator, Isaac. By the second wife he had only Isabella, now married to the young Humphrey de Thoron. The marriage of Almeric and Agnes had been declared unlawful, not on account of the espousals of Agnes to Hugh of Ibelin, but upon pretence of relationship within the canonical degrees of prohibition. Nevertheless, at the time the sentence of divorce was pronounced, it was formally settled that the act was not to be considered as bastardizing the children already born. Notwithstanding this arrangement, it was felt by everybody, as the death of Baldwin approached, that the claim of his sister Isabella to the crown of Jerusalem might not be altogether powerless against her half sister, born in what was considered both an incestuous and adulterous union before their father had ascended the throne of Jerusalem. Such being the situation of the royal family, and the infant son of Sybilla, who had been already crowned as heir presumptive, being a delicate and sickly child, the Count of Tripoli insisted upon the following conditions, before he would accept the regency:—First, that he should have no charge of the young prince, lest, in case of his death, any evil practices should be attributed to

him. Next, that the principal castles and fortresses of the kingdom should be placed in the keeping of the Knights of the Temple and Hospital, that he might not be suspected of aspiring to the throne. Thirdly, that some city or territory might be assigned to him as a security for the expense of keeping up the large army which was necessary for the defence of the kingdom. Fourthly, that the government should be conferred upon him for ten years; or, in case of the death of the young king, till the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and the King of England should have decided between the claims of the two sisters, Sybilla and Isabella, and declared the one or the other the queen of Jerusalem.

The king and his nobles consented to these just and wise provisions. The charge of the child was committed to Jocelyn de Courtenay, the uncle of Sybilla; Berytes and its territory was made over to the Count of Tripoli as a security for all his expenses, and the infant prince was carried in the arms of Balian of Ibelin to the holy sepulchre, where he was once more crowned King of Jerusalem. This ceremony took place before the death of Baldwin, but at what particular period we cannot discover; for the events of those times are very obscure, and dates are not preserved with that degree of accuracy which enables us to arrange chronologically many of the most important events of this period.

After appointing the Count of Tripoli Regent,

Baldwin totally disappears from history, and we only farther know that he died at the end of the year 1185, having called all the barons of his realm around him to witness the spectacle of his decease. Shortly after the Count of Tripoli assumed the reins of government, but whether previously to the death of Baldwin, or subsequently, it is difficult to say, he was induced to enter into a treaty with Saladin for a suspension of arms, during four years. This measure, however, was taken with the consent of the grand masters of the Temple and the Hospital, and the principal nobles of the land. Nor was the motive which induced them to make peace with the infidel a light one, as an excessive drought had for many months afflicted the kingdom of Jerusalem, the rivers and the wells were dried up, and the grain which was sown gave no return. Well knowing the periodical famines by which the country had been scourged, the Count of Tripoli feared that he might be attacked by the Mahommedan forces while the armies of Palestine were disheartened and weakened by dearth, and appears to have been fully justified in seeking a truce, which he might have found great difficulty in obtaining if Saladin had not at the time been intent upon a projected expedition against the Prince of Moussoul, if not actually marching to besiege his capital city.

The Arabian writers tell us that the sultan had determined never to lay down his arms till he had subdued the whole of Mesopotamia; but an illness

with which he was seized, in the midst of his exertions for that object, brought him to the brink of the grave, and, lowering the pride of success, induced him to listen to the terms of peace which Ezz-eddin now proposed. The Prince of Moussoul bowed the head before the genius and power of his great competitor, and acknowledging Saladin as his sovereign, agreed to join his troops to those of the sultan whenever he might be called upon to do so.

This event took place, it would seem, towards the end of the year 1185, or the beginning of 1186; but Saladin was still bound by the treaty which he had entered into with the Count of Tripoli, and we do not find any act of aggression on his part, though no occupation in any other quarter now prevented his troops from assailing the territories of the Franks. On the contrary, we are informed that abundant provisions of all kinds were poured into the kingdom of Jerusalem from the dominions of the sultan; and the people of Palestine, profusely supplied, in the midst of the total sterility of their own land, blessed the Count of Tripoli for his prudent foresight, and lauded his administration to the skies.

It would appear, however, that the friends of Guy of Lusignan were even now busy in calumniating the regent, and spreading abroad false and scandalous reports concerning him, both in Palestine and in Europe. Contemporary writers, who generally noted the rumours they received from day to day, declare that he administered poison to the young

King Baldwin; but they combined this assertion, which we might not otherwise be able to disprove, with so many statements, evidently untrue, and contradicted by the best authorities, that we may safely reject it as unworthy of a moment's consideration, except as proving that the Count of Tripoli was systematically calumniated by his enemies. Thus William of Newbery shews himself totally ignorant of the fact that Raymond of Tripoli had refused the guardianship of the young king, who was at this time at Acre, under the especial care of Jocelyn de Courtenay, his maternal grand-uncle. The English historian places him in the immediate hands of the regent, and by misstating a matter of so much importance and notoriety, invalidates his whole testimony in regard to the other events which were taking place in the Holy Land.

It is evident from all that followed, that Sybilla, Guy of Lusignan, and those connected with them, although we have no cause to suppose that they machinated the death of the young king, watched his decaying strength with a view of providing for the future, and carried on various dark intrigues with those whose influence they thought best calculated to counterbalance the power of the regent. Jocelyn de Courtenay was naturally anxious to place his niece upon the throne, in case of the death of her son; the patriarch had long been devoted to her; the grand master of the Temple viewed with hatred and jealousy the authority of the Count of Tripoli;

and some causes of dissension had evidently arisen between the last-named prince and the famous Renault de Chatillon, the particulars of which we do not exactly know.

The Arabian writers, however, supply several facts which may possibly throw light upon the subject. We find that the Lord of Carac, notwithstanding the existence of a truce, had been tempted by the appearance of a rich Mussulman caravan in the neighbourhood of his mountain-fortress, to plunder the merchants or pilgrims, and even to reduce many of them to captivity. Saladin remonstrated in vain, and it is by no means impossible that the Count of Tripoli also used his authority to force the refractory noble to make restitution. At all events, it is clear that he gave him no countenance in his proceedings;* and when in September, 1186, Baldwin V. expired, Renault de Chatillon was found amongst the most enthusiastic supporters of Sybilla, and the most determined enemies of the regent.

The party of Guy of Lusignan, however, had

* One of the best and most impartial accounts that we have of this particular period is that of Geoffrey Vinesauf, the author of Iter Hierosolymitanum. He mentions the existence of the truce between Saladin and the Christians exactly in the same terms as Bernard the Treasurer, and he recounts the violation of it by Renault de Chatillon almost in the words of the Arabian historian, Ibn Alatir. By a very natural mistake, indeed, he calls Renault Prince of Antioch, in which city he had ruled as regent during the minority of Boemond.

studiously concealed their operations from the Count of Tripoli; and the moment the young king was dead, Jocelyn de Courtenay proceeded to visit the regent at Berytes, and represented to him that it would not be necessary for him to accompany the body of the deceased prince to Jerusalem, but, on the contrary, that it would be better to intrust the funeral to the Knights Templars, while he provided for the defence of the realm, which was already menaced by the gathering forces of Saladin.

The city of Tiberiad, possessed by the count, in right of his wife, was one of the most exposed points of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and likely to be attacked in the very outset of a war. The fact that Saladin threatened immediate vengeance for the breach of the truce by the Lord of Carac, and had sent messengers to every part of his dominions, summoning his troops to the approaching contest, was most likely already known to the Christians. Never doubting, it would appear, the good faith of Jocelyn de Courtenay, the Count of Tripoli, moved, probably, by the imminence of the danger, hastened to Tiberiad, while the corpse of the young king was carried to Jerusalem; and such was his confidence in the submission of all parties to the arrangement which had been entered into respecting the regency and succession, that he left Berytes undefended, and seems not to have entertained the slightest suspicion of all that was machinating against him. The moment, however, that the count's absence favoured

the enterprise, Jocelyn seized upon the city of Acre, and thence hastening to Berytes, obtained possession of that important place by treachery. In the meanwhile, Sybilla, Guy of Lusignan, and the Grand Master of the Templars, with Boniface of Montferrat, the father of her first husband, who had lately taken the cross, seized upon the city of Jerusalem; and, after the funeral of Baldwin V., shut the gates against the nobles of the country, who adhered almost as a man to the Count of Tripoli and to the convention which they had sworn to maintain, at the same time sending in haste for Renault de Chatillon, of whose concurrence they were already assured.

In the meantime, thunderstruck by the tidings of these proceedings, the Count of Tripoli called all the nobles of the land to meet him at Naplouse; and we find that the only three who were wanting were Jocelyn de Courtenay, Guy of Lusignan, and Renault de Chatillon. The Masters of the Temple and Hospital were also absent, the latter being at the time in Jerusalem, though it would seem he took no part in favour of Sybilla. The whole baronage of Palestine was indignant at the violation of all the stipulations made with the Count of Tripoli; and it appears, from one of the continuations of William of Tyre, that the suspicions which had been circulated regarding the Count of Tripoli were retaliated upon Sybilla, some persons in the assembly whispering that she herself had administered poison

to her son, in order to grasp the thorny crown with which he had been invested. In the midst of their deliberations, messengers arrived from Jerusalem, summoning the nobles to the coronation of the queen. An immediate refusal was given; and two abbots were deputed to warn the patriarch and the two grand masters, in the name of God and the pope, not to proceed to the coronation of Sybilla till the question of her right should be decided by the persons to whose judgment they had sworn to refer the claims of the two sisters.

The councils of Sybilla, however, were ruled by three of the most violent and resolute men of the age. The patriarch Heraclius was notorious for his indecent conduct, living openly with a beautiful concubine, who had obtained the familiar appellation of the Patriarchess,* and displaying on all occasions a degree of intemperate daring which, when in England, might have brought upon him the fate of Thomas à Becket, had not Henry been previously made painfully aware of the danger of resenting the outrages of an ecclesiastic. The conduct of Renault de Chatillon is already before the reader; nor was the grand master of the Temple of a less decided

* Her name was Pasque de Riveri. She was the wife of a mercer of Naplouse, and carried on an adulterous intercourse with the patriarch before her husband's death, but afterwards lived openly with him in concubinage. Bertrand, the Treasurer, mentions the facts, and depicts the life and manners of the patriarch in the darkest colours.

and incautious character, as his after proceedings sufficiently evinced.

It was not to be supposed, then, that either the menaces of the Count of Tripoli and the barons of the realm, or the danger of plunging the kingdom of Jerusalem into a civil war, could have any effect in stopping the ambitious projects of Sybilla. All her counsellors determined to proceed to her coronation immediately, and the only opposition that they met with was from the grand master of the Hospital, who possessed one of the keys of the treasury in which the royal insignia were deposited. He resisted firmly; and even, we are told, threw the key away, lest it should be taken from him; but it was afterwards found by the patriarch, and everything was immediately prepared for the ceremony which they were about to celebrate.*

Fearing lest they might be interrupted, the faction assembled in Jerusalem caused every gate of the city to be shut and strongly guarded, preventing any one from either entering or going forth, while Sybilla proceeded to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and received one of the two crowns of the kingdom from the hands of the patriarch. The other had been placed upon the altar, but immediately after the

* It is curious that Vertot should be totally ignorant of these facts, which stand upon the best authority that we have, but though honourable to the grand master of the Hospital, are never mentioned by him in his Life of Roger Desmoulins, who filled that office from the year 1179 till the battle of Nazareth, in 1187.

coronation of the queen the patriarch pointed to it saying, " Lady, you are a woman, and it is therefore right that you should have a man to aid you in governing. Take that crown, and give it to whomsoever you think fit to rule your kingdom." Sybilla at once raised the diadem from the altar, and exclaimed, addressing Guy of Lusignan, " Advance, sir, and receive this crown, which I cannot employ better." Her husband then knelt at her feet, and she placed the crown upon his head.*

Notwithstanding all the care which had been taken to prevent any one from entering Jerusalem, or going out of the city to the barons assembled at Naplouse, a spy sent by them had contrived to make his way in through a postern belonging to a lazar house built against the walls ; and in the habit of a monk he witnessed the whole proceedings of the coronation, and carried the tidings immediately to those by whom he had been dispatched. The observations of the nobles upon the elevation of

* Vague tidings of these events reached Europe in various shapes, and gave rise to many disfigured accounts, amongst which is the ornamented narrative of Hoveden, which has been very generally adopted, but which I have rejected entirely, as the worthy chaplain was ignorant even of the names of most of the persons concerned, and of many of the most important facts. Bernard the treasurer, and Radulfus of Coggeshal, confirm each other in every important particular, and are generally supported by the best Arabian historians, though Ibn-alatir says that the barons of the realm were present at the coronation of Guy and Sybilla.

Guy of Lusignan show the contempt in which he was universally held.

"I will bet he is not king for a year," cried the gallant Baldwin of Ramla; and he then added, "My lords, do the best that you can, for the country is lost, and I shall take myself away, for I will not have the shame and the reproach of having shared in the ruin of my country. I know this king so well for a fool and a loiterer, that I am sure he will neither act by my advice nor yours, but by that of those who are incapable, for which reason I shall quit the land."

He was persuaded, however, to stay by the Count of Tripoli, who on this occasion proved that he was actuated by no desire of grasping the sceptre himself, by proposing that they should crown Humphrey of Thoron, who had married Isabella, the youngest daughter of Almeric, and his only child by his legitimate queen. This course was immediately decided upon, and the coronation was appointed for the next day. During the night, however, the young prince, whom they intended thus to elevate, took fright at the difficult situation in which he was likely to be placed, and weakly flying to Sybilla, did homage to Guy of Lusignan.*

This act of folly and feebleness broke up the con-

* It is probable that this young noble did not take part zealously, even from the first, with the barons, as we know that he was ever greatly under the influence of Renault of Chatillon, the friend of Lusignan.

federation of Naplouse. Seeing no farther hope of resisting the power of Guy and Sybilla, the barons abandoned the Count of Tripoli, with the sole exception of his renowned friend, Baldwin of Ramla, who declared that he would never hold lands of such a monarch as Guy of Lusignan. Determined to resign his territories, he sent his son, then a minor, to do homage and receive investiture of the estates he was about to quit. Guy of Lusignan, however, refused to receive him as a vassal till his father had performed the same act; upon which the Lord of Ramla, surrounded by his knights, marched into Jerusalem, presented himself before the king, and addressing him without any salutation, said, "King Guy, I do you homage as a man who will hold no lands of you." After which stern words, he caused his son to be invested, and then, leaving the boy in the custody of his brother, Balian of Ibelin, he quitted the presence and the territories of the new king, escorted by his knights till he had reached the frontiers of the principality of Antioch.

In the meanwhile, the Count of Tripoli retired to Tiberiad, highly indignant at all that had been done, and refusing in any way to acknowledge Guy of Lusignan as his sovereign. The menacing aspect which the Count assumed, the danger of suffering one of the great vassals of Jerusalem to deny his title to the throne, and set his power at defiance, but still more, the counsels of the grand master of

the Temple, determined the weak sovereign to march against the Count, and besiege him in Tiberiad. Hitherto the conduct of the Count of Tripoli had been irreproachable;* but consideration for his personal safety now joined with indignation to make him forget the duties of a Christian knight, and in the emergency which presented itself, he sent for aid to Saladin, with whom he had always kept his faith severely.

As may well be supposed, the sultan, who had already prepared all things within his own territories for a general assault upon Palestine, was well pleased to find the dissensions of the Christians offer the very opportunity he could have desired. The request of the count was granted instantly, and a body of Mahommedan troops was sent off to his support; but not content with this mark of his friendship, Saladin offered to aid Raymond in seizing upon the crown of Jerusalem, and instantly liberated a number of the vassals and subjects of Tripoli, who were at the time prisoners in his hands. There can be no doubt that the gratitude of the count was expressed in warm terms, and the Mussulmans flattered them-

* Emad-eddin gives us to understand that the Count of Tripoli had endeavoured to seize the crown of Jerusalem before the death of Baldwin V.; and had Saladin had any share in the supposed transaction, we might attach some weight to the statement of his secretary; but that not being the case, we cannot do so in opposition to the best Christian testimony, and to the whole conduct of the Count on the death of the young king.

selves that they had gained an ally so devoted to the Sultan that he was even willing to embrace their faith, and only refrained from the fear of displeasing his subjects.* The result showed how greatly they were mistaken; but the act which the count had already committed was sufficient to blast his reputation with the Christians both of the east and west, and to give countenance to numerous falsehoods circulated against him.

While these events were taking place, Guy of Lusignan advanced with the army which he had collected, as far as Nazareth, on his march to Tiberiad, and Saladin collected a considerable body of men in the neighbourhood of Paneas, watching for the events which were about to occur, and only waiting the call of the Count of Tripoli. The prudence, however, of Balian of Ibelin dissipated the storm for a time. Hastening after the king to Nazareth, he represented to him, in strong terms, the danger which he ran; in fact, the certain destruction that awaited him if he attacked the count in Tiberiad. He showed him that the army with which he was about to commence such operations in the midst of the winter was greatly inferior to that which Raymond could bring against him; and that even if he succeeded in his enterprise against the count, Saladin was ready to fall upon him with a vastly superior force. Yielding to his persuasions,

* Ibn-alatir. Emad-eddin.

the king dismissed his army and retired,* and several of the principal nobles of the kingdom undertook to mediate between Guy and his opponent.

Raymond, however, replied to their proposals, that he would never consent to a peace till Berytes, which had been left in his hands as a pledge for the fulfilment of certain conditions, was restored to him. The envoys do not seem to have been empowered to grant this demand, and the negotiations continued, without coming to a satisfactory conclusion, during the whole of the winter and spring of the year 1187. Then, however, the vast preparations made by Saladin alarmed not only the weak monarch, but the stronger and more determined spirits by whose counsels he was so fatally ruled. For once they advised him well, urging him to call the Count of Tripoli to his aid at any sacrifice; and four envoys of the highest rank were sent to Tiberiad, to persuade the great leader to break off his alliance with the Mahommedans, and to assist in the defence of Christian Palestine.

In the end of April, the Archbishop of Tyre, the grand master of the Temple, Balian of Ibelin, and Renault of Sydon, set out from Jerusalem to nego-

* Mr. Mills, who even in his short account of these events mis-states many of the principal facts, says that the king besieged Raymond of Tripoli in Tiberias, when in fact Guy, taking a circuit round Mount Tabor, never approached nearer than Nazareth.

tiate with the count. While the last-named personage proceeded alone, by a road we do not know, the three first took their way by Naplouse, where they slept the first night. On the following morning, the grand master of the Temple and the archbishop proceeded towards Tiberiad, while Balian of Ibelin remained to transact some business in Naplouse, promising to overtake them the next day; and they that night arrived at a castle, which I find called La Feue,* where tidings of an extraordinary kind reached them from the Count of Tripoli.

Some days before, Saladin himself had commenced his march to besiege Carac and take vengeance on Renault of Chatillon; and his son, Afdal, in order to make a diversion in his father's favour, sent messengers to Tiberiad, demanding that the count, as their ally, should suffer a body of Mussulman troops to pass through his territories into the kingdom of Jerusalem. With a number of the Turks within his own walls, bound to Saladin by gratitude, and uncertain of peace with the King of Jerusalem, yet horrified at the idea of actually countenancing the infidel in the slaughter of his

* I find this usually translated Safet, which also, it seems, bore that name, but which lay very much out of the track of the messengers, being considerably to the north of Nazareth in all the maps of the country that I have seen. I have therefore retained the name given to the place in the original text of Bernard the Treasurer.

fellow-Christians, the Count of Tripoli now felt all the danger and difficulty resulting from the false step he had taken. Not without much hesitation did he consent to the proposal of the Mahommedan prince, and then induced him to promise that, if he were suffered to pass the Jordan by daybreak, on the 1st of May, he would recross the stream before nightfall, and in the course of his excursion, would enter neither castle nor city, but would content himself with ravaging the open country. A pledge to this effect having been given, the count instantly sent off messengers to all the neighbouring towns and castles, beseeching the lords and governors of the various districts to keep their people strictly within the walls during the time of the Mahommedan incursion which he had the pain of announcing, assuring them, that if they did so, no attack would be made on any city or strong place; but that those who ventured beyond the gates would inevitably be put to the sword.

Knowing that the king's envoys were advancing to Tiberiad, he wrote to them also, with his own hand, entreating them to remain during the following day at the Chateau of La Feue; but the fiery valour and rash presumption of the grand master of the Temple frustrated the more prudent purposes of the count. The moment the grand master received the intelligence, he dispatched a courier to a neighbouring Preceptory of the Temple, commanding all the knights to mount immediately, and join

him, with their squires and servingmen. The garrison of La Feue comprised ninety knights of the Temple and Hospital; and at daylight, the next morning, all who could be mustered within the walls, together with the templars who had arrived from the preceptory during the night, marched on to Nazareth, where they were joined by forty more knights.

Without pausing to calculate the number of the enemy, this little band, led by the grand masters of the two orders, pursued the Mussulmans, who were already in retreat. They overtook them at a fountain called Creson, where a considerable body was assembled, though not the whole of the Mahommedan force; for the infidel leaders had received intelligence of the march of the Templars, and had concealed a part of their troops in the recesses of the neighbouring mountain.* This ambuscade was apparently unobserved by the Christian chiefs; and the battle immediately began. The Mahommedans were commanded by Modaffar-eddin, Prince of Edessa, and, according to the account of Vinesauf, the forces which followed him amounted to not less than seven thousand horse. Surrounded on every side, the gallant knights, in number a hundred and

* Such was the account afterwards given by the grand master of the Temple to Balian of Ibelin. He boasted at the same time that he would have overcome the enemy had it not been for this ambuscade.

forty,* continued the fight for some hours with a degree of valour and determination which seemed unconquerable. They drew the arrows from their wounds, and cast them back upon the enemy; when swords and lances were broken, they grappled with the foe, and neither sought nor received quarter. One knight of the Temple, named Jacquelin de Maille, mounted on a white horse, displayed such feats of valour, that even the infidel adversary were moved with compassion, and besought him earnestly to surrender. But such a thought was far from the mind of the determined soldier; and after laying the heads of many Turkish horsemen in the dust, he also fell with the rest of his companions. None of the knights but the grand master of the Temple and two of his brethren escaped alive from the fatal field of Nazareth.† The serving-men, it would seem, took no part in the battle, and seeing their masters slain, fled in safety unpursued: Modaffar-eddin being anxious to keep faith with the Count of Tripoli, and repass the Jordan before the fall of the night.

Consternation and regret seized upon the Count

* Rudulphus of Coggeshall gives the numbers as one hundred and thirty knights, and from three to four hundred foot soldiers. He differs from other authorities on several points; but was, apparently, only generally informed of the facts.

† Abou-schameh calls this victory "the beginning of blessings."

of Tripoli as soon as he heard of the slaughter which had taken place amongst his Christian brethren; and he might well grieve for the death of Roger Desmoulins, the grand master of the Hospital, who had always shewn himself a true and gallant knight, and had especially adhered to his word in those late transactions which had produced civil discord in the land. At first, also, it would appear, he believed that his old friend and companion in arms, Balian of Ibelin, had been slain in the battle, and that he had thus lost the two most honourable and strenuous supporters of his cause by his own fault. His mind, however, was soon relieved respecting the latter, by the appearance of messengers from Balian and the Archbishop of Tyre, who were by this time at Nazareth; and he immediately sent out fifty knights to conduct them in safety to Tiberiad. The grand master of the Temple was prevented from accompanying them by the wounds he had received.*

As soon as he saw the envoys of the king, the Count of Tripoli candidly expressed his shame and sorrow for that which had occurred; and without farther hesitation or delay, he agreed to send

* A modern historian hints that the grand master of the Temple did not accompany them to Tiberiad, not liking to trust himself in the hands of the Count of Tripoli. But the account given by Bernard the Treasurer is distinct in the old French version :—"Quant il vindrent fors la cité, le maistre du Temple, retorna, pource qu'il ne pout chevauchier."

back the Mahommedan troops, which he had received in Tiberiad, to forget his enmity towards Guy of Lusignan, and once more to give the aid of his experience and his valour to the kingdom of Jerusalem. He consented, also—apparently without any hostages or security whatever—to accompany the two envoys to the presence of the king; and Guy met him at a short distance from Jerusalem with as much honour as if he had been a fellow-sovereign, dismounting from his horse as soon as he saw him, and advancing towards him on foot.

Their reconciliation being now completely effected, a great council was held at Naplouse to consider what was to be done for the defence of the kingdom, as Saladin was actually in arms at Carac, and there could be no doubt that the whole strength of his vast dominions was about to be employed for the destruction of the Christians of Palestine. The advice of the Count of Tripoli was, that the king should immediately assemble his army in the neighbourhood of the Sephoritan fountain, a spot which combined the advantages of a central situation, a strongly-defensible position, plenty of water, and abundant forage for the horses. The two latter considerations were always essential elements in every plan of military operations in the Holy Land, and the advice of the Count of Tripoli was followed in his respect, as well as in that of sending immediately to the Prince of Antioch for assistance.

No time was lost; the hopes of the people of

Jerusalem revived on seeing the dissensions which had afflicted the land removed, and the leader in whose courage and sagacity they had the greatest confidence, directing the councils of the king. The grand master of the Temple himself, who, however factious, rash, vain, and false, was never wanting in energy and determination, co-operated eagerly in all the measures now taken for the defence of the kingdom. By his advice, Guy of Lusignan caused proclamation to be made, offering pay to all men who would come forward in arms to repel the enemy; and by the grand master, likewise, the means of defraying this expense were supplied. The treasures which Henry II. of England had sent to the Holy Land, in expiation of his share in the murder of Thomas à Becket, had been entrusted to the knights of the Temple, and never yet applied to the purposes for which they were intended. These were now made over to Guy of Lusignan for the payment of his hired forces; and the king ordered the commanders of the bands thus raised to display a banner bearing upon it the arms of the King of England.

Knights and nobles flocked in from all sides: the Prince of Antioch sent his son and fifty of his most gallant warriors; every brother of the Temple and Hospital that could be spared from their various fortresses hurried to Sephorim, and in five weeks the largest army was collected which had ever been assembled by a king of Jerusalem in so short a space

of time.* The clergy in great numbers were also present, and the only person of any distinction who seems to have shrunk from the duties of his station was the Patriarch Heraclius, who excused himself from quitting Jerusalem, and sent out the wood of the True Cross by the hands of another.

Nor were such exertions unnecessary; for the storm which was destined to sweep away the kingdom which Godfrey of Bouillon had established, was about to break. Saladin wâs now fully prepared to cast from him all other objects of ambition, and drive the Christians forth from Palestine. Although he had long declared his intention to devote himself to the Holy war, as he termed the struggle with the Franks of Syria, he had made no important effort for their destruction since the fatal check of Ramla. On the contrary, a great part of his time had been employed in successful aggressions on his fellow Mussulmans; and the people of Mesopotamia were already accusing him of persecuting those of the true faith, and neglecting his advantages against the Christians. He felt that the moment for action was now come; and in the autumn of 1186 and the spring of 1187 he dispatched letters into every part of his dominions, and to all the princes tributary or allied to him, to Moussoul, to Egypt, even to Arbeles, on the other side of the Tigris,

* "Vous estes nouvelement roi, ne onques mes roi de ceste terra na une si grant gent en si petit d'ore."

calling the whole Mussulman world to aid in driving forth from Asia the children and successors of the crusaders.* The body of troops which he had taken with him to Carac had been but small, but during his absence, the main body of his army, under his son, Malek Afdal, had been increased by reinforcements from various parts of Syria; and before anything had been effected against the mountain fortress of Renault de Chatillon, two important pieces of intelligence reached the ears of the sultan, and made him determine immediately to raise the siege, and put himself at the head of the vast army which had been assembled between Damascus and the lake of Tiberias. The first of these was the victory of Nazareth, which, though the triumph may seem insignificant over a hundred and forty knights and four hundred foot soldiers, was esteemed by the Mahommedans as the "commencement of blessings on Islamism;" so great was the importance attached by the Mussulmans to the valour and military skill of the knights of the Temple and the Hospital.

The second part of the tidings was as unfavourable as the former was inspiriting. A great advantage had been lost by the reconciliation of the Count of Tripoli with the King of Jerusalem. But that reconciliation not only shewed Saladin the necessity of rejoining his main army without loss of time, but excited his anger, and gave a direction to his efforts

* Ibn-alatir.

which, it is very probable, they might not otherwise have taken. That the first action of the war would be on the side of the Tiberiad now became clear from all the movements of the Mussulman force; and the vast extent to which the sultan's host had been swelled might well alarm the one party, and raise high the expectations of the other.

At a village called Ashtara, a little distance from Damascus, on the road towards the sea of Tiberias, the sultan rejoined his host in the hottest part of the year, and immediately passed in review the immense multitude there assembled. The attempt to discover the numbers which now thronged around his standard would probably be in vain, as they have been variously estimated by every different writer, and it is clear that the Arabian authors themselves spoke from guess. By one we are told that fifty thousand horse and innumerable foot soldiers were present at the muster. By another, who, though seeing the events from a distance, marked with great accuracy all the transactions of the time, we are assured that Saladin's army amounted to eighty thousand men; and by another we are informed that it comprised levies of Parthians, Bedouins, Medes, and Egyptians. One thing, however, is certain, from the statements of Ibn Alatir, probably the best and most impartial of the contemporary authorities, and who was with Saladin at the time, that the

sultan had at his command a body of ten thousand regular cavalry, besides a multitude of auxiliaries from all parts of Asia, which Emad-eddin, the secretary of the monarch, compares to the assembly of mankind on the day of judgment.*

These troops the sultan separated into five divisions, composing an advanced guard, a rear guard, a centre, and two wings; and in this array he marched forward to a place which I find called Akhouaneh, on the frontiers of the Tiberiad. The farther movements of Saladin are variously stated

* Some historians declare that Saladin did not receive the news of the Count of Tripoli's reconciliation with the King of Jerusalem till the period of this review. But it is scarcely possible to credit such a statement, as the event had taken place long before, as Raymond had dismissed the Syrian troops from Tiberiad immediately after the battle of Nazareth, and the news of that victory and the defection of the Count must, consequently, have reached Damascus almost at the same time. Neither is it at all probable that Afdal would communicate the one event to his father and not the other, and there is every reason to suppose that it was the tidings of this reconciliation which brought the Sultan away from the siege of Carac, rather than the victory of Nazareth. In regard to the authorities for these events, I have prefered the testimony of the contemporary Arabian historians, Ibn Alatir and Emad-eddin, and the nearly contemporary statements of Abouschameh, though the latter, certainly, wrote after the events; to the great work of Aboulfeda, which was composed more than a century later. The Christian writers I rely upon, are principally the continuation of William of Tyre, by Bernard the Treasurer, Radulf of Coggeshal, and the first book of Vinesauf.

by various authors, but following the best guides amongst the Arabians, there is reason to believe that, instead of attacking the capital of the Countess of Tripoli's territories at once, as some have declared, he advanced to the westward of that city, perhaps for the purpose of reconnoitring the Christian army. Certain it is, that he himself passed some time in observing the forces of Jerusalem from the top of a hill,* and finding that all was quiet in their camp, he returned with a part of his troops to besiege Tiberiad. The larger body, however, he left behind, between the devoted fortress and the camp of the King of Jerusalem, in such a position as to cover entirely his own movements, and to enable his corps and the main army mutually to support each other.

It would appear that this attack upon Tiberiad had been in no degree anticipated by the Count of Tripoli, although he must have been well aware that the amicable relations between himself and the sultan were at an end, for we find that the city itself was without any garrison, and that the Countess of Tripoli, who had been left in the place, had only sufficient troops to defend the citadel. On the first approach of the enemy, the Countess sent intelligence of her danger to her husband and the king; but Saladin did not condescend to employ

* I prefer the account of Ibn Alatir, who was present, to that of Boha-eddin, who was then at Bagdad, and who apparently did not join Saladin till after the capture of Jerusalem.

the usual means of siege against the defenceless town, which was taken by storm before the first messengers of the countess could reach the camp of the Christians. Death awaited those who resisted, slavery was the doom of the rest, and while the city was given up to the flames, the citadel itself was closely besieged.*

The news of this disaster speedily reached the camp of the King of Jerusalem, and a council was immediately called to decide what course was to be pursued in such an emergency. The immense superiority of the enemy's force was known. Twenty thousand foot and fourteen hundred knights appear to have formed the utmost amount of the Christian army, and already detachments from the host of Saladin had swept the lands round, burning the open towns and villages, and laying waste the whole track between Sephorim and the lake of Tiberias. It was now the dry and burning month of July; the country in advance was arid, difficult, and defensible; and the person, of all others, who might be supposed biassed by interest and affection to urge the march of the army for the deliverance of the Countess of Tripoli, was he who generously and devotedly counselled the king to abstain from

* Ibn-alatir. Bernard the Treasurer. Rudulphus Coggeshall implies that the count neglected to give his wife due succour; but his account of many of the events preceding the actual siege of Jerusalem is proved to be inaccurate in various points of minor importance.

so perilous a step. The speech of the count is so remarkable, that I cannot refrain from giving it entire, as it is recorded, without any material variation, by two of the best authorities, Christian and Mussulman.*

" Sire," he said, " I would give you my advice if I might be believed; but I know that people will not believe me. However, I advise you to let Tiberiad fall, and I will tell you why. Tiberiad is mine, and my wife is in it; and if it is lost, none will lose so much as I shall. But I well know that if the Saracens take it they will do no harm, but will occupy it, and will not come to seek us in this place; and if they take my wife and my people, and destroy my city, I will get them again when I can; for I would much rather that the place was taken and occupied by them than that the whole country was lost. And I know well that if you go to succour Tiberiad, lost it is. I will remind you also that between this place and Tiberiad there is no water except one little fountain, the fountain of Creson,—but a small supply for an army. As soon as you are on the march the Saracens will come to meet you, and will harass you all the way, and will force you to encamp in such a manner that you will not be able to fight on account of the heat, and because your men-at-arms have nothing to drink; and if

* Bernard the Treasurer; Ibn-alatir. Rudulphus of Coggeshall paints the conduct of the Count of Tripoli in colours very similar.

you fight, the Saracens will disperse and fly towards the mountains, where you cannot go without your men-at-arms ;* and if they force you to encamp, what will your men and horses drink ? They will die of thirst. The next day the Saracens will take you all; for they will have water and provisions, and be refreshed, and we shall all be starved, and dead with thirst and heat. Thus we shall be every one killed or taken: and for this cause I advise you to lose Tiberiad rather than to lose the land."

To this speech the grand master of the Temple replied by an ungenerous sneer; saying, that under it he saw the wolf's hair.† The count, who knew he had given cause for such reproach, did not resent it, but merely replied, " Sire, should you advance, you shall strike off my head if all that I have told you does not happen."

The assembled barons, however, were unanimous in support of the opinion of the Count of Tripoli, and it was determined that the army should remain encamped at Sephorim watching the proceedings of the enemy, till some favourable opportunity occurred for striking a decisive blow. But the grand

* In this sentence there seems to me to be a word left out in the original text, implying that the king could not follow them into the mountains, or, perhaps, the word which appears to be *ne*, ought to be read in reality *ou*, which would render the sense perfect; as it is, the *ne* is superfluous.

† Ibn-alatir attributes the opposition offered to such wise advice to Renault of Chatillon.

master of the Temple retired discontented to his tent, midnight being then past, and the morning of the fatal second of July beginning to draw near.

After the king had supped, the grand master returned, and urged him vehemently to advance at once upon Tiberiad. He called Raymond of Tripoli a traitor, told the weak prince that the count's advice had been given but to bring shame upon him, and pointed out the great force that the monarch had with him; but in the end he shewed the vengeful personal feelings by which he was moved, adding, evidently in allusion to the defeat of Nazareth, "Know that the Templars will cast away their white mantles sooner than that the disgrace which the Saracens have brought upon me shall not be avenged."*

He then advised him to order the whole host instantly to make ready, and to march with the Holy Cross before the army. The monarch, swayed by the remembrance of various benefits which the grand master had conferred, yielded to his remonstrance, and accepted his counsel. The call to

* A modern writer has somewhat strangely mis-translated this sentence in favour of the grand master. He thus renders it, "Know that the Templars will sooner tear the white mantle from their shoulders, and sell all that they possess, than *remain any longer quiet spectators of the injury and disgrace that have been brought upon the Christian arms.*" This gives a very different view of the grand master's conduct, and not a just one, for his words were, "Que la honte ne fust vengié que li Sarrazins *m'ont faite.*"

arms was immediately sounded through the camp, and the astonished barons hastened to the tent of the king to learn what was the meaning of this change of plan. Guy, however, refused to hear them, merely commanding them to arm and follow him, and with heavy hearts they obeyed, knowing that no good could ensue from such a course.

The Count of Tripoli led the advanced guard, and Balian of Ibelin brought up the rear; but before the king's tent was struck, the words of Raymond were verified, by the light troops of the Turks attacking the army on every side. With such vigour and effect did they thus commence the assault that a number of the knights of Balian of Ibelin were killed, as the Christian host moved forward into the midst of a devastated and arid country, in presence of a superior force.

Saladin rejoiced when he heard of the rash step which Guy of Lusignan had taken, and exclaimed, "We have gained our end!" seeming to imply, that the attack upon Tiberiad had been made with a view of drawing the Christians from their position at Sephorim. Some of the Mussulmans, indeed, do not appear to have viewed the approach of the Christians with the same degree of satisfaction and confidence. Emad-eddin declares that the Frankish army at this time amounted to more than fifty thousand men, and compares their march to the waves of an agitated sea, or the mountains in movement; and Ibn-alatir admits that the Mahommedans felt

some apprehension, till they saw the distressed state of the Christian chivalry towards the close of the day.

Saladin, whom the news reached at Tiberiad, immediately left a small body of troops to blockade the citadel of that place, and put himself at the head of his main army, while detachments of the light and rapid cavalry of the desert still whirled round the host of Palestine on its burning march, and left it not an instant of repose. Thus impeded and harassed, the progress of the Christian force was but slow; and though the distance between Tiberiad and the fountain of Sephorim, we are assured by one author, was not more than five miles, the Franks were still three miles from the city when it was judged expedient to halt. The lake of Genesareth was, at this time, little more than a mile distant; and, after a short repose, the Count of Tripoli urged the king to force his way on, at least to the borders of the sea of Galilee, in order that the men and horses might obtain water to quench the burning thirst which already devoured them.* A movement, it would appear, was made to follow this advice;

* Bernard the Treasurer gives a different account, and says that it was by advice of the Count of Tripoli that the king halted; but, though the most valuable Christian record of those times, and wonderfully supported by contemporary Arabian accounts, I have preferred the testimony of Coggeshall, for various reasons. His account goes even farther to justify the Count of Tripoli than we have ventured to do, in those points where he is not supported by the Mussulman historians.

but the advance of masses of the Mussulman cavalry prevented the execution of the Count's design, and induced the king to encamp at the spot called Marescallia,* where he then was. The Mahommedan army pitched their tents so near, and so completely encircled the forces of the Christians, that the two hosts could have conversed together; and not a living creature could escape from the camp of Guy without being stopped by the enemy. A sultry night and burning thirst consumed the remaining strength of the Franks; every drop of liquid was exhausted in the camp, and, to use the expression of the sultan's secretary, "they had drained even the water of their tears."

The principal Mahommedan and Christian authorities represent them as overcome with fatigue, heat, and thirst, and yielding to despair. But despair itself has a courage of its own, and on the following morning early they prepared to open a passage to the lake of Tiberias with their swords.

It was a part of the policy of the Mussulmans, however, being far more lightly armed than the Christians, and habituated from infancy to endure the burning sun of their native climate, to force the warriors of the west to combat in the heat of noon, and they therefore retreated for a short distance towards the lake of Tiberias, setting fire to the reeds and bushes which lay between them and the forces of the cross, and thus both impeding their advance by a

* Vinesauf.

flaming barrier, and increasing the terrible thirst by which they were afflicted. In the meanwhile the archers of Saladin took possession of the commanding heights around, prepared to pour their arrows upon the devoted host of the Christians; and his cavalry, in overpowering numbers, occupied all the passes leading towards the lake.

The army of Palestine, however, after some short delay, moved forward to the battle, the Holy Cross being borne by the bishops of Acre and Lidda, and the advance guard led by the Count of Tripoli; while the main body of the enemy was commanded by Saladin in person, with his renowned nephew, Taki-eddin, at the head of the Mussulman van. A great mass of foot, it would appear, accompanied the Count of Tripoli, but this was composed of the peasantry of Palestine, who impeded rather than assisted his operations; and the knights who supported them were covered with heavy armour, which excited the astonishment of the historian, Emad-eddin, but which increased in a tremendous degree the fatigue and heat which they were destined to endure. As the Christians advanced to the charge, the Mussulman archers, from the heights, poured upon them a shower of arrows, which they themselves compare to a flight of locusts; and the Frankish infantry, thrown into confusion, attempted, without orders, to gain an elevation on which they might remain out of reach of the terrible shafts of the enemy.

As far as we can judge by the obscure accounts of that which is always, more or less, a scene of confusion, the Christian forces were attacked by the superior Mussulman force on both flanks, as well as in front; and while the Count of Tripoli, with the horse and foot under his command, was maintaining the battle in advance, the Hospitallers and Templars in the rear of the army were also carrying on a bloody and determined contest against a powerful corps of the Mahommedan troops.* The two grand masters, finding themselves overpowered, dispatched messengers to the king for aid; but Lusignan himself was under the arrows of the enemy, and his only resource was to order the Count of Tripoli to attack the main body of the sultan vigorously, and open a way to the lake of Tiberias.

The count accordingly charged down the side of a hill, accompanied by a number of the knights and nobles by whom he was surrounded; and Taki-eddin, to whom he was opposed at that moment, seeing the desperate fury with which he advanced, caused his battalions to open to receive the Christian prince, with the design of enveloping him in the masses of Turkish cavalry, and cutting his small corps to pieces. It is probable that had the Templars and Hospitallers been stationed in such a

* Mr. Addison, in his "History of the Templars," seems to place them in the front of the battle, but the words of Coggeshall are not to be mistaken when he says, "In extrema parte exercitus."

position as to be enabled to support the Count, instead of being posted in the rear, the Mussulman line would have been broken, and the way to the lake opened. Unaided as he was, he cut his way through, though not without the loss of a large number of the knights by whom he was accompanied.

The Grand Master of the Hospital, Balian of Ibelin, and Renault of Sidon, together with several knights of the Temple and some other nobles, likewise made their escape from the battle when they found that all was lost; but the king, with Renault of Chatillon, the Bishops of Acre and Lidda, the Grand Master of the Temple, the Marquis of Montferrat, Geoffrey of Lusignan, and a large body of the military friars, as well as a crowd of foot soldiers, were left surrounded on every side by the victorious Mussulmans, while charge after charge of the Syrian and Egyptian cavalry, and flight after flight of arrows, thinned their ranks every moment, and threw them into irremediable confusion. They still protracted the struggle, however, for some time, and the Christian knights again and again bore down upon the enemy, endeavouring to hew a passage for the king. We have the authority of Saladin's own son, Afdal, for saying, that the sultan himself could not believe that such desperate efforts would prove unsuccessful, till he saw the tent of the king fall, when, descending from his horse, he cast himself upon the ground, and

with tears of joy gave thanks to God for the great victory he had gained.*

Thus ended the battle of Tiberiad, the most fatal event that had ever befallen the kingdom of Jeru-

* Ibn Alatir, who apparently was present at this battle, does not seem to have been near Saladin; but the account given by Prince Afdal is extremely characteristic and picturesque. He says, "I was by the side of my father when the King of the Franks retired to the hill. The warriors who were around him charged and repulsed the Mussulmans to the bottom of the slope. I then looked at my father, and saw that his countenance was sad. 'Give the devil the lie,' he cried to the soldiers, tearing his beard. At those words, our army rushed upon the enemies, and drove them back to the top of the hill, while I, full of joy, exclaimed, 'They fly, they fly!' But the Franks returned to the charge, and came down again as far as the bottom of the hill, where they were again repulsed, and I began to cry once more, 'They fly, they fly!' Then my father looked at me, and said, 'Hold thy peace, they are not really defeated till the tent of the king falls. Scarcely had he finished speaking, however, when the tent fell.' Immediately my father dismounted, prostrated himself before God, and offered him thanks with tears of joy." The standard of the king was always before his tent, so that it was easy to distinguish the royal pavilion from the others which the unhappy remnant of the Christian army had attempted to raise upon Mount Hittin.

The calumnies which had been previously circulated regarding the Count of Tripoli, induced a number of Christian writers to believe that his escape from the field of battle was concerted with the enemy; but this is entirely and satisfactorily disproved by all the best accounts of the battle. Ibn-Alatir shows that he actually cut his way through, Taki-eddin opening his ranks to avoid the desperate charge of the count. Aboulfeda declares that the count, "seeing how important it was to conquer, cast

salem since its first foundation by Godfrey of Bouillon and his companions. The number slain on the part of the Christians was immense; though it is impossible to estimate exactly the amount of

himself desperately into the fight, and charged the first line of the Mussulmans. Taki-eddin, Prince of Emad, caused his ranks to open to receive him and his followers, whom he surrounded and cut to pieces. The count, however, found means of escaping, and having reached Tripoli, died mad shortly after." Radulf of Coggeshall shows that the Count of Tripoli fought valiantly with the advanced guard, which was separated from the rest of the army, and surrounded by the enemy, and that he did not attempt to fly till he saw that the battle was lost, and that he could not rejoin the rest of the army. Bernard the Treasurer, though he does not mention that the count actually sustained the shock of the Turks, proves that he was in no degree in league with them by declaring that, although Tiberiad was but two miles distant, he did not dare to fly thither lest he should be taken; and although Boha-eddin declares that the count, to the injury of his reputation, fled from the battle at the beginning, *without fighting* (which is proved by eye-witnesses to be false) he shows that there was no compact between him and the Mussulmans, by asserting that a party was immediately despatched in pursuit of him. Even had this latter author sanctioned the charge against the Count of Tripoli, we should not have inclined to attach much weight to his statements, as he was not present; and notwithstanding his after intimacy with Saladin, many of his assertions in regard to this very battle are proved to be false by the eye-witnesses, respecting points on which he might have obtained better information. The strongest testimony, however, in favour of the Count of Tripoli, is that of Brother Terrick, Grand Preceptor of the Temple, who, in his circular letter, giving an account of the battle of Tiberiad to his order, says, "Scarcely could the

loss; for both Christians and Arabians vary so much in their testimony, that even an approximation can scarcely be arrived at.* It would appear certain, however, that not above a thousand men in all made their escape from that fatal field; the rest were made captives, or slain. "In beholding the number of dead," says Ibn Alatir, "one did not believe that there were any prisoners, and on seeing the prisoners, one did not believe that there were any dead. I myself passed over the field of battle a year after, and saw the bones piled up in heaps; there were others also scattered abroad here and there, without counting those which the wild beasts and the torrents had carried away to the mountains and the valleys."

"The field of battle," says Emad-eddin of Ispahan, "was covered with the dead and the dying. I crossed Mount Hitin myself, and it shewed me a horrible spectacle. I saw all that a fortunate nation had done to an unfortunate one—I saw the state of its leaders. Who can describe it? I saw heads

Count of Tripoli, and the Lord Renault of Sidon, and the Lord Balian, and myself, escape from that miserable field;" without the slightest allusion whatsoever to anything like treachery or cowardice on the part of the count, which, as a Templar, he would certainly have made had there been the slightest pretence for it.

* In one of the letters preserved by Abouschame, the number of the Christian army is stated at forty-five thousand, and the writer asserts that not more than one thousand escaped death or captivity.

struck off, eyes put out, or burst, corpses covered with dust, limbs dislocated, arms detached, bones cloven, necks cut through, backs broken, feet which were no longer attached to the leg, bodies parted in two, lips torn, foreheads riven! In beholding these countenances fastened to the earth, and covered with blood and wounds, I remembered the words of the Koran—'Oh that I were dust!'"

Such was the aspect of the field of battle and its dead: that of the camp and its captives was equally terrible. "The cords of the tents," says the same author, "were not sufficient to bind the prisoners. I saw thirty or forty men-at-arms tied with the same rope; I beheld from a hundred to two hundred gathered together, and guarded by a single man. Those warriors who lately displayed extraordinary strength, and rejoiced in greatness and power, now offered a miserable spectacle, with the countenance cast down, and the body naked. The Christian counts and lords had become the game of the hunter, and the knights the prey of the lion. Those who had humbled others were now humble in their turn; the freeman was in fetters; those who treated truth as a lie, and the Koran as an imposture, had fallen into the power of the True Believers!"

In the eyes of the Christians, the greatest misfortune of this day of disaster was the loss of the Holy Cross. It had been carried to the fight by the hands of the Bishops of Acre and Lidda; and placed in a conspicuous part of the army, where the gold

and precious stones with which it was ornamented might be seen by all; it had served to animate the courage and preserve the resolution of the soldiery. The Bishop of Acre, however, fell early in the day; and the cross itself was captured in one of the charges of the Saracens some time before the surrender of the king. From that moment, the Christians considered all as lost. The warriors of the Holy Land might be slain, and fresh knights and nobles flow into Palestine from the west; the king himself might be taken, and another wiser and better easily found in his stead. But the True Cross was not to be replaced; the wood on which the Saviour was supposed to have suffered, the sign of their salvation, their gage of victory, the emblem of their highest and their holiest hopes, was gone for ever, and confidence and expectation were at once extinguished. The Bishop of Lidda was taken in the battle with the king, who had also for companions in captivity his brother Geoffrey of Lusignan, Boniface Marquis of Montferrat, Humphrey of Thoron, Renault of Chatillon, Roger de Mowbray, Jocelyn of Courtenay, Almeric Constable of the Kingdom, the Grand Master of the Templars, with a vast number of his knights, besides other persons of note. The list of the distinguished men killed would be too long to insert in this place, but amongst them were several English nobles; and I find the name of Hugh Beauchamp particularly mentioned. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers

found means to fly when he saw that the day was irretrievably lost, and reached Ascalon in safety. But he had borne from the battle many honourable wounds; and of them he died shortly after, having held his high office not quite two months.

With the Count of Tripoli escaped his four sons-in-law, lords of Tiberiad, young warriors of the greatest promise, who, in after years, aided to redeem the Christian name in Palestine. The Count first fled to Tyre, and thence proceeded to his own city; but fatigue, exhaustion, and despair, proved more potent than the swords of the enemy, and he expired before the measure of his country's humiliation was complete.

When the battle was over, and the victory secure, Saladin caused the principal prisoners to be brought into his tent, and seeing the intense thirst with which they were afflicted, he called for some iced water, and handed the cup to the king. That cup to Guy of Lusignan was doubly welcome; for besides allaying his thirst, it gave him the assurance of safety, the Mussulmans never killing a prisoner to whom they had offered any act of hospitality. When the king had drank, however, he handed the cup to Renault of Chatillon, but Saladin instantly exclaimed, "It is not I who gave that wretch drink! I am not bound towards him!" and then turning to the unhappy noble with a frowning and terrible brow, he reproached him with his meditated attack upon Mecca and Medina, and his treacherous breach

of the truce in regard to the Mussulman caravan. Renault justified himself boldly, and appears, even by the Arabian accounts, to have demeaned himself with the same dauntless courage, as a prisoner in the tent of his great enemy, which he had uniformly displayed in the field of battle. Saladin then offered him his life upon condition of his embracing the Mahomedan religion. "It is better to die!" replied the Lord of Carac; and Saladin, advancing, struck him with his scymetar. This was a signal for the emirs present to dispatch him; and the body fell at the feet of Guy of Lusignan, who was seized with a fit of trembling at the sight. The sultan, however, bade him fear nothing, and thus ended the slaughter for that day.*

The next evening was that of Sunday; and at the hour of sunset, in cool blood, and with bitter determination, Saladin commanded the last act of the tragedy of Tiberiad to take place. The Mussulman army was drawn up in battle array, the emirs of the sultan arranged in line on his right and left; and Saladin, seated in the midst, by the cool shores of the

* All the European authorities, I believe, without exception, declare that the head of Renault de Chatillon was struck off by Saladin's own hand, but the Arabs were eye-witnesses, and I have therefore adopted their account. It would appear from all the Arabian statements, whether of Ibn-Alatir, Kemal-eddin, or Emad-eddin, that Saladin had bound himself by a vow to put the Lord of Carac to death if ever he should fall into his hands.

lake, ordered the Knights of the Temple and Hospital, the sworn and devoted enemies of Islamism, to be brought before him, with the exception of the Grand Master of the former order. As prisoners were in those times the absolute property of the persons who had taken them, and as large ransoms were generally paid for men of distinction, the sultan himself had been obliged to purchase from their captors the objects of his vengeance. But the offer of fifty pieces of gold for each Knight of the Temple or Hospital who might be delivered to his officers, speedily collected between two and three hundred of the military orders, and it was at once announced to them that they must choose between death and apostasy, must abjure their faith, or submit to the sword of the victor. Few, if any, were found to hesitate; and the only struggle seems to have been who should first win the crown of martyrdom.*

No longer moved by the fierce passions which animated him at the moment of the death of Renault of Chatillon, but deliberately perpetrating an act of bloodthirsty cruelty, under the impulse of religious fanaticism, Saladin, with a smiling face, ordered the emirs and principal persons around to strike off the

* Emad-eddin, Ibn-Alatir. I might multiply authorities for all these particulars were it necessary, or did I wish to fill this page with the names of persons who lived long after the events; but the testimony of one or two eye-witnesses may be of more weight than that of those who wrote at a distance from the scene and the epoch.

heads of the prisoners one by one, while the rest of the army looked on upon the sanguinary deed with no feelings of horror or compassion, but with critical admiration of the dexterity displayed by some of the executioners in performing their barbarous office.*

The Christian world, however, heard of the devotion unto death which the martyrs of the Temple and the Hospital had shown, with tender reverence and sorrowful admiration; and the religious imagination of the age clothed their mortal remains with glory, and represented rays of celestial light as issuing from the corpses of those celebrated warriors for three nights, while they lay unburied by the dark waters of Gennesareth.† The king, the Grand Master of the Temple, and other noble prisoners, were re-

* Enod-eddin. Monsieur Guizot, in his notice on the work of Bernard the Treasurer, makes use of this remarkable expression:—"In no other chronicle, perhaps, the superiority in civilization and generosity on the part of the Mussulmans over the people of the west makes itself so plainly felt." Monsieur Guizot's ideas of civilization and generosity do not seem at this time to have been particularly distinct; for throughout the whole course of this history we shall have frequent occasion to dwell upon similar scenes of savage and barbarous fury. But the affected liberality of the present age is too apt to fancy that we show an enlightened spirit in crying up nations, acts, and principles, which former ages have condemned, and in depreciating the acts, the institutions, and the races, which our forefathers were accustomed to look upon with respect.

† Vinesauf, cap. v.

served from this act of slaughter, either on account of the ransom expected from them, or with a view to employ their influence in reducing the cities of Palestine. They were sent away as prisoners into the heart of Saladin's Syrian dominions, but were, ere long, recalled into the Holy Land for purposes which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

Not satisfied with this ruthless massacre, Saladin commanded the Governor of Damascus to put to death all the Knights of the Temple and Hospital who were already prisoners in that town, an order which was executed with bloodthirsty fidelity. Nor were the zealous subjects of the sultan disinclined to follow him in his fanatical cruelty, for we find that for some time after the battle of Tiberiad it was common to see, in the streets of Damascus, the freshly-dissevered heads of Christian captives piled up by the devout Mussulmans like melons, having been cut off in cold blood as an offering to their God of vengeance. So great, indeed, was the number of the prisoners, that this sacrifice was not very expensive, the ordinary price of a Turkish slave in the market being three pieces of gold.*

As may be supposed, the annihilation of the army of Palestine at the battle of Tiberiad left the land in a state of utter consternation. Almost all the towns and fortresses had been drained of their garrisons; the labourers likewise had quitted the field to take up the bow and the sword; and though their presence

* Abou-schameh.

had impeded the operations of the trained military and their insubordination had contributed more than anything else to the loss of the day, their destruction on that fatal field left the country without any source from which new levies could be drawn. The active and energetic ruler of the Mussulmans was not of a character to suffer the advantages thus offered to slip from his grasp, and he immediately put forth all his energies to profit by the terror and the destitution of the Christians, while at the height. Writing instantly to his brother, Malek Adel, whom he had left in command in Egypt, he directed him to advance with all his African forces, and pour into the south-western districts of Palestine, while he himself hurried on from success to success in the north and east.

Sanguinary as he had shown himself, Saladin did not suffer his thirst for blood to impede his policy; and in his attack upon the cities and fortresses, towards which he now proceeded, he appeared willing on all occasions to arrive at a speedy surrender by affording moderate terms to the inhabitants. The first place against which he turned his arms was the citadel of Tiberiad, a strong and defensible castle, which might have delayed his progress for days, or perhaps for weeks, if he had not granted conditions to the garrison, which they were very glad to accept. The Countess of Tripoli, with the small force within the castle, was permitted to retire, and followed her husband to his dominions. On the same day

Nazareth also surrendered to the arms of the Mussulmans. On the Wednesday following the battle, the sultan and his host advanced upon Acre, the citizens, in terror, flying before him, and carrying off their most valuable and portable effects. Nevertheless, an infinite quantity of rich booty was found on the entrance of the Turks into that great commercial port;* but Saladin neither took, nor granted to others, any repose, and immediately turned upon Tyre, which, however, he found too strongly defended to yield without a long and severe siege. Thither Balian of Ibelin, Renault of Sidon, and a number of distinguished leaders, had fled from the battle of Tiberiad; and Saladin, not choosing to embarrass himself with such an enterprise, marched towards Sidon, which he took, with several smaller places in the neighbourhood.†

During these proceedings, large detachments from the main army had been spread over the whole country round, carrying fire and the sword into every part of the land between the county of Tripoli and the city of Jerusalem. Sebaste or Samaria, Cæsarea, Seforia, Caifa, and Naplouse, were captured; and on the other side of the country, the Egyptian forces, pouring in under Malek Adel, made themselves masters of Jaffa, Yabna, and other places.‡ Berytes

* Ibn-alatir.

† There is a considerable discrepancy between the authors who mention Saladin's first movements upon Tyre, into which we shall have to inquire hereafter.

‡ Ibn-alatir.

surrendered to Saladin himself, and Byblos, or Djebail, was given up as a ransom for the lord of the city, who had been taken at the battle of Tiberiad. A fortress, named Boterim by Bernard the Treasurer, (probably Botryum) fell also before Saladin; and although the place was insignificant, I cannot pass over its capture without noticing some remarkable words of the historian, who says—"This castle belonged to the lady whom the Count of Tripoli would not give to Gerard de Rochefort, who went into the order of the Temple out of rage, by which began those hatreds whereby the land was lost." It may be a question whether the Gerard de Rochefort here mentioned is that Grand Master of the Temple, otherwise called Gerard de Riderfort, evidently by mistake, and sometimes Gerard de Biddefort; but if so, we have here the clue to that personal enmity on the part of the Grand Master of the Temple towards the Count of Tripoli which aggravated all the difficulties that surrounded the kingdom of Jerusalem during the latter years of Baldwin the Leper and the reign of his infant successor.

Saladin then advanced along the seashore and laid siege to Ascalon, preparatory to an attack upon Jerusalem; but that important place showed a disposition to resist his arms with resolute valour; and the Sultan, anxious to secure all the fruits of his great victory as easily as possible, caused the King of Jerusalem and the Grand Master of the Temple to be brought from Damascus, offering to set them at liberty if they could induce the inhabitants

to surrender. What answer was made by the Templar we do not know, but Guy yielded readily to the suggestion, and sent an order to the garrison to open their gates to the victor.* The indignant Christians of Ascalon drove his messengers forth from the town with blows and execrations; and the Templars of Gaza, to whom Saladin had also sent a summons to surrender the small but almost impregnable fortress which they held, representing to them the state of the country, and offering them life and liberty, returned him a fierce and resolute reply.

In the meantime, the army of the sultan was increased by the junction of Malek Adel and the forces of Egypt, after which the siege of Ascalon was commenced with an overpowering accession of strength. The garrison resisted during fourteen days; but at the end of that period, finding that they were daily losing ground, and that not the slightest hope of relief from without could be entertained, while the multitudes of the infidels assailed them incessantly, and the king solicited them eagerly to open their gates, the brave defenders of Ascalon entered into a capitulation, and surrendered the city upon the

* Bernard the Treasurer asserts that Guy, on the contrary, commanded the inhabitants of Ascalon not to surrender; but it seems to me that the testimony of Ibn-Alatir is preferable, he having been an eye-witness of most of the events he recounts, and his statement on this occasion seeming more consonant with the character of Guy of Lusignan, which presented the ordinary combination of weakness and rashness.

conditions that their lives and property should be held sacred, that Saladin should cause them to be escorted in safety to some friendly territory, and that the king, with nine of his fellow prisoners at his choice, should be set at liberty in the month of March following.*

During these events, the state of the Christians of Palestine was more dreadful than can be conceived, and the account of the Abbot of Coggeshall causes the reader, even in the present day, to sympathize with the unfortunate inhabitants of the Holy Land, and to shudder at their fate. The ruthless and destroying sword of the Mussulmans was carried into every village and hamlet; the men were slain wherever they were found, and the women and children carried away to a loathsome captivity. The whole land was covered with putrefying corpses; the churches, the convents, the chapels, were burnt to the ground; flames of fire, cries of agony, and moans of regret, rose up at once

* It is generally stated that Ascalon surrendered at once without resistance, but the Mahommedan writers show that great injustice has been done to the garrison of that place by the accounts of their fellow-Christians. In regard to the march and proceedings of Saladin after the battle of Tiberiad, I have followed the accounts of the Arabians in preference to those of the Latin writers, and even to that of Coggeshall, who only gathered his information as a fugitive from the vague rumours of persons similarly situated, while Emad-edden and Ibn-Alatir were eye-witnesses of the events they recount.

from the fair fields of Palestine, and the hearts of even the Mussulman writers themselves seem to have been touched by the sad spectacle they witnessed.

Ramla, Hebron, Bethlehem, Daroun, and Gaza, soon fell before the conquering sword of the sultan, and his march towards Jerusalem was one continual triumph, only interrupted by the gallant resistance of a small party of Hospitallers in a fortress near Bethlehem. The two military orders alone, in the deplorable state to which the kingdom was reduced, appear to have retained their unconquerable courage and determination, and to have taken energetic means to retrieve, if possible, the errors and the evils of the past. Letters were written by the Grand Preceptor of the Temple to all the houses of his order* throughout Europe, beseeching immediate aid, and directing his brethren to apply to all Christian monarchs for speedy assist-

* These letters slightly differ one from the other, though in substance they are all the same. Three of them are preserved by English writers, Hoveden, Diceto, and Gervaise of Canterbury, which were evidently written at different times, and under somewhat different circumstances, two of them mentioning Berytus as one of the cities which still remained in the hands of the Christians, the other omitting it, probably because it had fallen. There are various other differences which I need not particularize; but the letter, as it is printed by Savile, in his edition of Hoveden, contains an error of the press, which is corrected in the Scriptores Decem. We find the name of Balian of Ibelin printed Ballovius instead of Balianus.

ance, while the military friars prepared to oppose the advance of the infidel step by step, with all that resolute daring which they had shown on so many occasions. The defence of Jerusalem was determined on, but the undertaking was rendered more and more difficult every hour by the multitudes of fugitives which fled to the capital from all parts of the country round before the desolating sword of the enemy, bringing terror and confusion along with them.

At the time when the defeat of Tiberiad became known in the Holy City, it contained few, if any, military defenders, and no leader of renown. But Balian of Ibelin, whose wife had taken refuge there, hastened from Tyre to convey her to a place of security, having obtained a safe conduct from Saladin for that purpose. He had given his promise, it would seem, not to remain in Jerusalem above one night, but the people of the city, rejoicing in the presence of so famous a commander, would not permit him to execute his engagement. The patriarch absolved him from his vow, and the citizens watched him so closely that it was impossible for him to quit the place. His high and chivalrous qualities had excited the admiration and won the friendship of Saladin, and when the Christian knight sent messengers to the sultan, then under the walls of Ascalon, to explain his situation, and to entreat that his wife and children might be permitted to pass in safety to Tripoli, while he remained to defend Jerusalem,

the Syrian monarch received his excuses as valid, and sent an emir with a party of cavalry to escort the lady and her family to a place of safety.

The difficult task of holding out the city against the arms of Saladin was now confided to Balian of Ibelin, and the presence of a considerable party of Templars and Hospitallers encouraged the people, and gave them hope of successful resistance. As a constant friend and supporter of the Count of Tripoli, however, Balian was not likely to be very popular with the Knights of the Temple or with the patriarch; and unsupported against a powerful faction, having no experienced nobles within the walls on whom he could rely, no knights on whose co-operation and valour he could depend, the Lord of Ibelin had recourse to an act of a very singular and extraordinary character. Choosing out fifty young men, the most promising and distinguished that he could find amongst the class of burghers, he knighted them for the defence of the Holy City. His next step was an endeavour to provide for the multitude of women and children which had taken refuge in the place; but so great were the numbers, that even after all had been done that was possible to lodge them in the houses, many were still obliged to sleep in the streets.* The Queen Sybilla, indeed, with her

* Jalal-eddin al Siuti, in his History of the Temple, describes the situation of the city in the following words:—"And their abodes became too narrow for the people, and every house in the city was shared with whoever was a sharer, also those of the

train, received notice from Saladin that she might retire in safety to Naplouse,* to which place he had sent her husband, Guy of Lusignan; and she accordingly quitted Jerusalem under a safe conduct from the sultan; but none of the rest of the unfortunate fugitives dared to show their faces beyond the walls, round which the parties of Arabian horsemen were hovering night and day.

It is a lamentable, though perhaps not an extraordinary fact, that moments of great difficulty and danger generally bring dissension rather than concord; and such would appear to have been the case in Jerusalem at this time, the only resolution in which all the inhabitants seemed to unite being the determination of resisting to the last. From beneath the walls of Ascalon, Saladin summoned the Holy City to surrender, pointing out to the citizens that every fortress in the realm had fallen with the exception of Tyre and Carac, considered by many the two strongest places in the land. The people of Jerusalem replied that by God's will they would defend it to the last; and Saladin then swore that if they drove him to take the city by storm, he would put the whole of the male

inferior people came forward to govern in places of dignity, and the Infidels were at variance, and the Franks despaired of relief, and assembled together to endure the ruin of all that was most precious."

* Ibn-Alatir states that the Queen of Jerusalem was in the city at the time of its fall.

inhabitants to the sword, and reduce the women to captivity. The Christians, however, remained undaunted; and as soon as he had obtained possession of Ascalon, the sultan began his march towards Jerusalem. The mighty army by which he was accompanied, and the complete state of subjection to which he had reduced the neighbouring country, left little probability that a town, crowded with inhabitants, and scantily supplied with provisions, torn with factions, and unsupported by any external allies, would be able to resist his arms. Nevertheless, by some Arabian accounts, we find that Saladin hesitated,* and that there were persons who attempted to dissuade him from the enterprise, while, from every statement, we learn that the Christians were full of resolution, if not of confidence. When his determination was once formed, however, the Sultan shewed himself immovable therein, and on being told by an astrologer that he would take the city if he attempted it, but that it would cost him an eye, he replied, "Were it to cost me both I would take it."†

Marching on them from Ascalon with the whole force of his mighty army, preceded by clouds of light horsemen, and displaying all the pomp of eastern war, the Sultan commenced his advance on Jerusalem, on Monday the 21st of September, 1187, having employed less than three months in subju-

* Mogir-eddin. † Emad-eddin.

gating the whole country after the battle of Tiberiad. The first day he arrived at Beersheba, the second he paused at Bethlehem, and on the third his vast host looked forward upon Jerusalem from the hills by which it is surrounded. Joy and satisfaction took possession of the Mussulmans, and shouts of gratulation rent the sky as they beheld the city not less holy in their eyes than in the eyes of the Christians. At the same time, from the walls of Jerusalem might be seen the innumerable standards of the Mussulman host, yellow, white, and brown,† their floating garments, their glittering arms, and their light Arabian chargers, amidst clouds of dust, which, to use the expression of the historian, "turned the light of the morning into the twilight of night." But the resolution of the Christians did not give way before the sight. The cry in the city, according to the account of Al Siuti, was, "Beneath the Sepulchre of our Lord we will die, and on account of the dread of its separation from us will we be strong. From it will we procrastinate the evil day, and towards the relics in the city and the sepulchre will we hasten. Wherefore shall we not fight? Wherefore not do battle in this quarrel?"

The strength which yet remained in Jerusalem, and the resolute valour of her defenders, were soon felt by the Mussulman assailants. A Syrian Emir, confident in the mighty host that followed him, pre-

* Al Siuti.

ceded the rest of the army with a small body of cavalry, and passed insultingly before the gates, but he was not suffered to return unassailed. A detachment from the garrison instantly issued forth to repel the first appearance of attack, and in a brief combat under the walls of the city, the Mussulman leader was slain, with the greater part of his force,* while the rest were driven back in confusion to the camp of the Sultan.

The peril was mighty, but the defence of Jerusalem had religious zeal for its motive, as well as the spirit of chivalrous honour. Death appeared imminent to the children of the Cross, but worse evils were seen as the only alternative, and "all preferred death to slavery, all were ready to sacrifice their lives, their riches, and their families, for the safety of the Holy City."

Nevertheless human weakness, of course, had way; and when, on the following morning, at daybreak, the loud sound of drums and trumpets shouts and cries of battle, rose up from the Mussulman army, and were wafted on the wind to the battlements of Jerusalem, the women and the children flocked into the churches and cast themselves down before the altars, stretching out their arms to God for help in that terrible hour of danger and dismay. Penitence and remorse might also have a share in their devotion; for there can be

* Ibn-alatir.

no doubt that the grossest corruption and debauchery had reigned in Jerusalem for many years; and one of the Christian historians says, "Our Lord Jesus Christ would hear no prayer they made, for the foul and stinking luxury and adultery which existed in the city did not suffer any petition to rise up before God."* The male population, however, flocked to the battlements, citizens, knights, men-at-arms, even monks and priests; † and every effort was made to offer a vigorous resistance to the enemy. Machines for casting down stones and Greek fire, sheaves of arrows, heaps of quarrels, swords, spears, and bucklers were prepared, and "the sounds of voices giving orders were confused by the thunder and lightning of their swords and arms."

Five days after were spent by Saladin in reconnoitreing the city and preparing for the attack. But it would appear that, from the first, repeated sorties were made by the citizens, and that by their determined and desperate efforts an immense quantity of Mussulman blood was shed. At length, however, everything was ready for the Mahommedans to march to the assault, and the first point menaced was towards the north, near the gate of Amoud, or of the column, as it is called;‡ but at that spot the sultan could make no impression, his troops having the sun in

* Bernard the Treasurer. † Radulph: Coggeshal.
‡ Ibn-alatir.

their eyes during the whole of the first part of the day, and the Christians issuing forth, and meeting the enemy under the walls. After spending some time in fruitless and bloody combats,* Saladin determined to change his point of attack, and occupied the high grounds in the neighbourhood of the gate of St. Stephen, and that of Josaphat,† extending his position up the Mount of Olives, whence his military engines could cast missiles into all the neighbouring streets, except those which were arched over. The sufferings of the people of Jerusalem now became

* Emad-eddin.

† It has been asserted by a modern author that the last and successful attack of Saladin, after the first had failed, was made upon the northern wall of Jerusalem. The whole passage is erroneous, and all the places that he puts upon the north were upon the south and west of Jerusalem. The valley Josaphat, according to William of Tyre, lib. viii., is to the east of Jerusalem. Stretching thence to the south is the valley of Ennom, or Gehennom, with the town of Gehennom, or Gehinnom, as the author I speak of calls it, on the south-west; the gate of St. Stephen, to the north-west of the town, was the northernmost point of Saladin's second position, which ran round thence by the south completely to the east, occupying part of the Mount of Olives, about a mile eastward of the valley of Josaphat; and the point of the wall which was thrown down was to the south-west instead of being to the north. Ibn-alatir does not mention this change of attack, but speaks generally of the wall being mined and a breach effected. Bernard the treasurer, however, states the fact distinctly, and is confirmed by Mogir-eddin, who declares that the breach was effected on the south, not far from the brook Cedron.

terrible. Hemmed in on every side, with no postern which could give them exit to attack the enemy in the field, all that they could hope was to defend the walls to the best of their power; but the commanding situation which Saladin at this time occupied soon rendered their efforts fruitless. The very next day after this change of plan had taken place, twelve great machines were playing against the city, and early in the morning the army of the Turks advanced to the assault in three columns, bearing pavisses before them, with the miners and the men-at-arms in the front, while the archers followed, covering the attack by flights of arrows, so thick that not a man dared remain upon the walls.* The Abbot of Coggeshall was here struck by an arrow, in the face, and though the wood was withdrawn, the iron head of the weapon was buried in the flesh for life. No one could lift a finger above the parapet without receiving an injury, and the number of wounded was so great that the hospitals could scarcely contain them. In two days fifteen toises of the wall were mined, and it became clear that a practicable breach would soon be made, so that there being no hope of succour from without, the place could not be considered as tenable.

A hasty and anxious consultation of the chief

* Bernard the Treasurer. Rad: Coggeshal: digitum ad propugnacula sine læsione ostendere non poterat.

persons in the city was then held, when all the knights, the men-at-arms, and even the citizens, agreed that it would be better to issue forth during the night and attack the camp of Saladin sword in hand, than either to surrender the city, or to await the attack of the infidel within the walls. The patriarch, Heraclius, however, was opposed to this counsel, and he found means to touch the hearts of the inhabitants by representing that though they might die gloriously in such a daring enterprise, their wives and children would fall victims to Mahommedan licentiousness, and while they gave up life for the cross of Christ, those they loved best would become slaves of the infidel and the followers of Mahommed.* At the same time, it would appear, the principal leaders in the garrison discovered that there was treachery within the city. A great number of the citizens belonged to the Greek church and had never ceased more or less to regard the kingdom of Jerusalem as a dependency of the imperial crown of Constantinople, viewing the Latins with jealousy and hatred. These Greek Christians, who were called Melkites, or royalists, had opened, it would seem, a communication with the sultan by means of one of their brethren, who had long before attached himself to Saladin; and if we may trust the Arabic history of the patriarchs

* Radulphus of Coggeshall speaks very severely of those who advised a capitulation.

of Alexandria, they had even agreed to open the gates of the city to the Mussulman army, and to aid in the massacre of the Franks.

Nothing was left then but to capitulate, and no time was to be lost. A deputation was immediately sent to Saladin, asking what terms he would grant; but the sultan fiercely replied, "I will act towards the Christians as the Christians acted towards the Mussulmans when they took the Holy City. I will put the men to the sword, and of the rest I will make slaves. I will give them evil for evil."*

This answer struck terror into the hearts of the inhabitants, and Balian of Ibelin, conscious of the influence his high character gave him, undertook the difficult task of bringing the sultan to more humane views. The safe conduct which he required to speak with Saladin in person was immediately granted; and he set forth to fulfil his mission; but the proceedings of the siege were not suspended for a moment; and while he was absent, the stakes, which supported the portion of the wall that had been undermined, were fired by the Mussulmans, and a large extent of the south western wall, over against the valley of Gehennom, fell with a sound like thunder. The Mahommedans instantly rushed to the assault, and for some time the banners of Islamism floated over the breach. By a vigorous

* Ibn-alatir.

effort, however, towards the close of the day,* the Franks drove back the enemy; and an offer of fifty thousand bezants was made by the Patriarch and others to any fifty men-at-arms who would undertake to guard the breach during the night. But no one was found to accept the task.

It would appear that, upon his first visit to Saladin, Balian of Ibelin was unsuccessful; but on the following day he returned to Saladin again, and had recourse to prayers and entreaties. These also proved unavailing; and then the gallant knight, assuming another tone, addressed the Mahomedan conqueror in a speech every way remarkable, which has been preserved by Ibn Alatir, whose account is confirmed by various other Arabian historians:—†

"Know, oh sultan," he said, "that within those walls our number is so infinite, that God alone can calculate it. The inhabitants are unwilling to fight, because they expect a capitulation such as you have granted to so many others. They fear death, and cling to life; but if once death is inevitable, I swear by God, who hears us, that we will kill our wives and our children, and burn up our wealth, not leaving you a bezant. You will find no women to bring into slavery, no men to cast into irons; we will destroy all the holy places; we will slaughter

* Bernard the Treasurer.

† Jalal-eddin al Siuti gives the same account in his verbose and inflated style.

the five thousand Mussulmans who are captives in our hands; we will not leave even a beast of burden in the place. We will go forth against you; we will fight as those who fight for life alone; and for one of us who perishes, many of yours shall fall. We will die free, or we will triumph gloriously."

Saladin was struck and surprised, and after a short consultation with his emirs, he consented to treat for the capitulation of the city. The terms were then soon arranged:—For all the ordinary classes of citizens, whether rich or poor, a ransom was agreed upon at the rate of ten pieces of gold for each man, five for each woman, and two for each child. Every one who could discharge the sum fixed for his ransom at once, was permitted to pass free whithersoever he would. But forty days were allowed for the rest to procure the money, and those who could not do so before the expiration of that term were to become prisoners. Eighteen thousand souls, however, were excepted from these conditions, as the reputed poor of the city, and for the redemption of these, Balian of Ibelin generously bound himself to pay thirty thousand pieces of gold.

These conditions being arranged, and the treaty signed, the gates of Jerusalem were thrown open to the sultan, and the Mussulman standard was planted on the walls on the second of October, 1187.* Joy

* The Arabian and Latin historians differ greatly as to the length of time that the siege of Jerusalem lasted. But this is easily accounted for, though Ibn Alatir makes it four days and

spread through the whole of Islamism at the news; and from the farthest corners of his mighty empire Saladin saw the faithful followers of the prophet flock to behold the great work he had consummated, and to offer him their congratulations upon a result so glorious for their religion.

The sultan afterwards turned his arms to the reduction of the few places which still held out in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and to the conquest of the other Christian principalities in Syria. But the gallant resistance of Tyre, and the farther progress of the war, will be related at an after period; the fall of Jerusalem itself being the event which principally moved the feelings, and the hope of its recovery the object which stimulated the exertions, of the Christians of Europe at the accession of Richard I. to the throne of England.

the Christians fifteen or more. It would appear that the Arab only looks upon the siege as having begun on the day when the military machines began to batter the walls on the south and west sides of the city.

END OF VOL. III.

T. C. Savill, Printer, 107, St. Martin's Lane.

00036814

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 March, 2016